Grammatical Relations in Tamang, a Tibeto-Burman Language of Nepal

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Declaration for SOAS PhD thesis

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Abstract

This thesis investigates grammatical relations in Tamang, a (Tibeto-Burman) Sino-Tibetan language with roughly one million mother-tongue speakers, who live predominantly in the central hills of Nepal. Sino-Tibetan languages are known for their diversity of morphosyntactic profiles for expressing predicate-participant relations, which range from fully syntactic grammatical functions (eg. in Kham, Kiranti languages) to non-syntactic systems which encode semantic and pragmatic information about elements of the clause (eg. in Meithei, Chinese). Tamang represents an intermediate type, displaying a mixture of non-syntactic and syntactic patterns. This mixed profile is evident in intra-clausal relations in main and dependent clauses, where assignment of case morphemes encoding a mixture of semantic, pragmatic and syntactic information interacts with other strategies such as manipulation of word order and omission of clause participants. Inter-clausal relations are also unevenly syntacticized, some being based on syntactic pivots which privilege particular arguments, and some not.

The research presented here is based on a corpus of field data from the Tamang dialect spoken in the villages of Lekharka and Bhote Namlang in the valley of the Indrawati River (Sindhupalchok District). Following a discussion on theoretical approaches to the analysis of clause participants and a grammatical overview of this dialect (which includes a detailed description of the verbal system), the thesis presents the morphosyntactic means by which grammatical relations are expressed, and the relations which hold between predicates and their participants in all types of main clause. Lastly, it examines grammatical relations in dependent clauses and structures of clause linkage, and explores links between grammatical relations and other domains of the language such as information structure, pragmatics and the lexicon. Phenomena observed in Tamang are considered in the context of typological literature on grammatical relations and alignment and, where possible, comparisons are drawn with patterns noted in other Sino-Tibetan and Tibeto-Burman languages.

Acknowledgements

So many people have helped me over the last few years while I have been preparing this thesis that I am worried that I will not be able to do justice to all of them in this short section.

My greatest thanks go to the many members of the Tamang community who helped me in all kinds of ways, both in Nepal and in the UK. First among these are my two main language consultants Saroj Tamang and Babu Tamang of Lekharka (Sindhupalchok District), who welcomed me into their house and patiently helped me with my research on Tamang, from my earliest efforts to learn the language, to endless questions and elicitations about obscure aspects of its grammar. I would also like to thank Amrit Yonjan, who has been my guide in the intellectual and practical matters of researching Tamang since I first spoke to him about my wish to research the language in 2008; and Sajak Yonjan, who has worked with commitment and care to transcribe many of the texts in the Tamang corpus. So many other people have helped me, but I would like to give special thanks to Tashi Lama, Milan Tamang, Premila van Ommen, Kailash Tamang, Angnima Tamang, Ajit Man Tamang, Gopal Tamang, Ganesh Tamang, Amar Tamang, Sano Kancha Tamang and Karma Tamang amongst many others.

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My research was funded for three years by the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Documentation Project (ELDP), by an Individual Graduate Studentship (grant number IGS0087). I am grateful to ELDP as without their funding I would not have been able to undertake this research. The staff in the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) have also offered me their technical and practical expertise at many points, for which I am very grateful, in particular to Tom Castle and Kakia Chatsiou.

I am also grateful to all the other people in my life who have helped and supported me in so many different ways over the last few years while I have been working on the thesis. First among these are my parents and my family. Thank you for everything.

Contents

Transcription and glossing

My transcription of Tamang is phonological, based on the phonological system of Tamang presented in Mazaudon (1973). I generally follow IPA conventions, but with a few differences: i) aspirated consonants are transcribed with a normal *h* grapheme instead of a raised ^{h} (ie. *ph, th, ch, ṭh, kh* etc.); ii) [j] is transcribed as *y.* These adaptations of the IPA, which bear a debt to the Indological tradition, are common in linguistic work in Tibeto-Burman languages in Nepal, and reflect the transcription of these languages in *devanāgari*, the script used for writing Nepali and many other northern Indo-Aryan languages. The segmental phonemes of Tamang are outlined in section 3.1 of the thesis. It is worth noting that vowel phonemes /i/ and /u/, when occurring before other vowels are realised as epenthetic glides [j] and [w] respectively, which I represent as *y* and *w.* Although not a strictly phonemic transcription, this practice is well established in linguistic work on Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages of South Asia. For indicating tone, I follow Mazaudon's practice of indicating the tone of a word with a raised number from 1 to 4 at the beginning.

Loanwords from Nepali belong to a different phonological system, which does not have tone and contains a phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless stops, as well as aspirated and unaspirated stops. Generally, Nepali loanwords which have been incorporated relatively recently into Tamang retain their phonological character from Nepali. However, certain words appear to have been assimilated into Tamang phonology, which includes assimilation into the tone system (eg. *[4]cakka* < *jagga* Nep. 'land'). Unassimilated Nepali loanwords will be evident in the thesis as they do not have a raised number indicating their lexical tone (although it must be admitted that the boundary between assimilated and unassimilated loanwords remains somewhat impressionistic until more research is conducted on code switching). For transcribing Nepali, I use standard Indological transcription according to the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration, with one difference: where inherent short *a* is not pronounced in Nepali, as often happens particularly at the end of words, I will simply write the consonant and omit the inherent vowel, eg. *tāmāṅ vyākaraṇ* for तामाङ व्याकरण.

Examples consist of the transcribed text on the first row, morpheme-by-morpheme gloss according to the Leipzig rules (available on the website of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology: http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php) on the second row, and free translation into English on the third row. Translation has sometimes been directly from Tamang to English, but has sometimes been through the contact language, Nepali (ie. Tamang to Nepali to English). In translations, I enclose material which is not overtly expressed in Tamang but is necessary to make a precise and grammatical English translation in square brackets, while general contextual information which is not expressed in the utterance is enclosed in normal brackets.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ADV	adverb(ializer)
APRX	approximative
COLL	collective
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COND	conditional
COP	copula
COPA	attributive copula
COPE	equative copula
CTOP	contrastive topic
DAT	dative
DEIC	deictic
DEM	demonstrative
DUR	durative
ERG	ergative
EXCL	exclusive
EXPER	experiential
FOC	focus marker
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HORT	hortative
INC	inceptive
INCL	inclusive
LOC	locative
MIR	mirative
NEG	negative
NOMZ	nominalizer
NPST	non-past
OPT	optative
PART	particle
PAT	patientive
PERF	perfect
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PRED	predictive
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PRON	pronominal
PST	past
REP	reported speech marker
RES	resultative
SEQ	sequential
SPEC	speculative
TOP	topic marker

1. Introduction

Tamang is a (Tibeto-Burman) Sino-Tibetan language spoken as a mother-tongue predominantly in the central hills of Nepal. The Nepal 2011 census records 1,179,145 first-language Tamang speakers (Central Bureau of Statistics 2012: 4), making it one of the largest of many minority languages in the country (see Turin 2007). The language is called *[1]tamaŋ [1]tam* 'Tamang language' by its own speakers, and both the language and the ethnic group associated with it are referred to as तामाङ (*tāmāṅ* or occasionally with the spelling *tāmāṅg*) in Nepali.

This thesis investigates grammatical relations in Tamang based on data from the variety spoken in the villages of Lekharka and Bhote Namlang, on the east bank of the Indrawati Khola (Indrawati River) in Sindhupalchok District, northeast of the Kathmandu Valley (see figures 1.1 and 1.3). Tamang displays a high degree of geographical diversity in terms of lexicon, phonology and morphosyntax, which is evident from previous research on the language (see section 1.3) and sociolinguistic work (see Varenkamp 1996), and which I also observed travelling and speaking to Tamang from different areas. However, the general outline of grammatical relations described in this thesis is comparable to patterns which have been reported in other dialects (see works cited in section 1.3), and can probably be considered broadly representative of the language as a whole.

In this introductory chapter I will outline the background to this research (sections 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3), discuss research questions, theoretical framework and research methodologies (sections 1.4, 1.5 and 1.6), and set out the structure of the remainder of the thesis (section 1.7).

1.1 Geographical and social context

The densest area of Tamang settlement stretches roughly from the Budhi Gandaki in the west to the Likhu Khola in the east (a distance of about 180km) (Höfer 1981: 6), and from the southern slopes

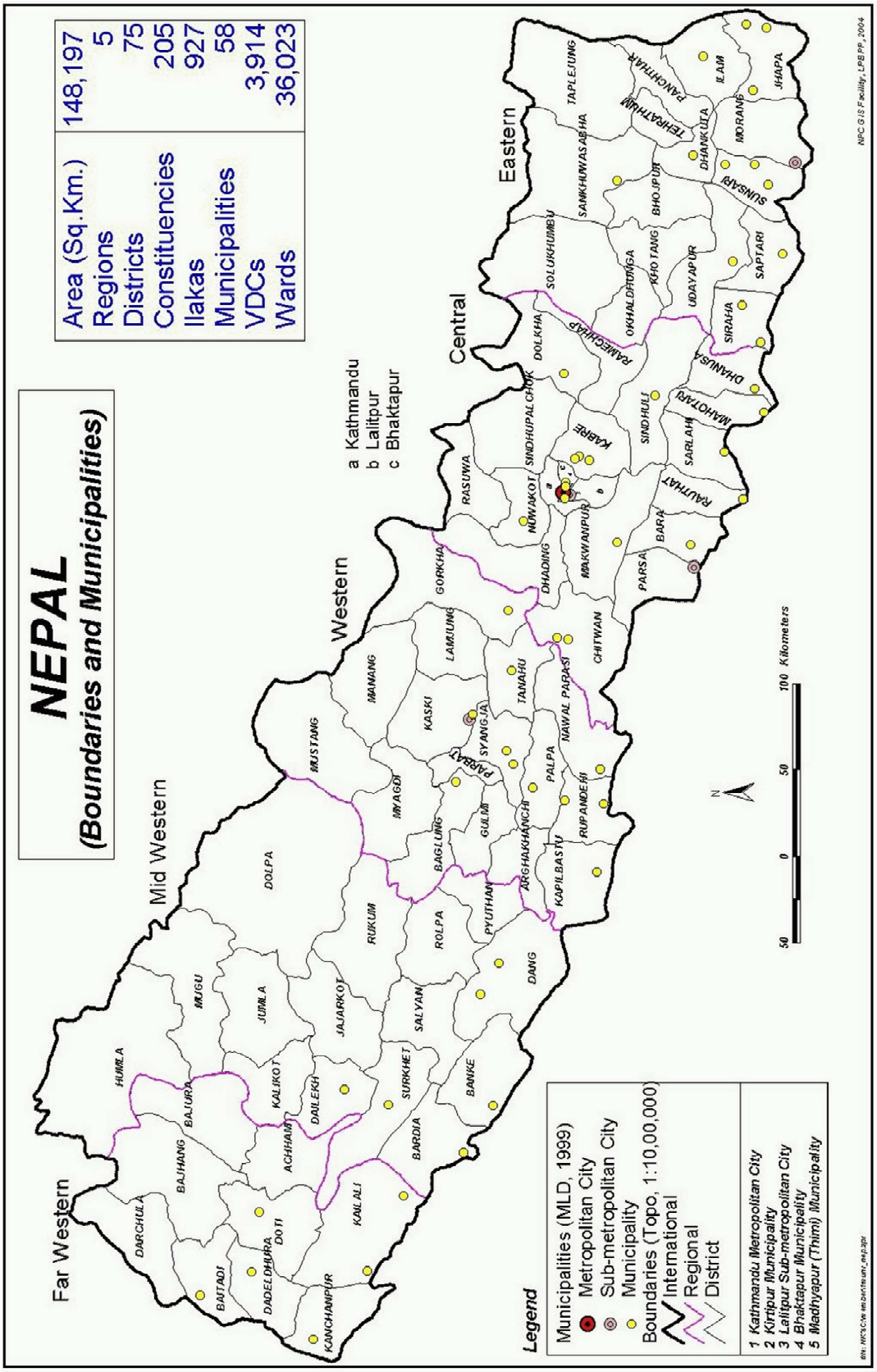
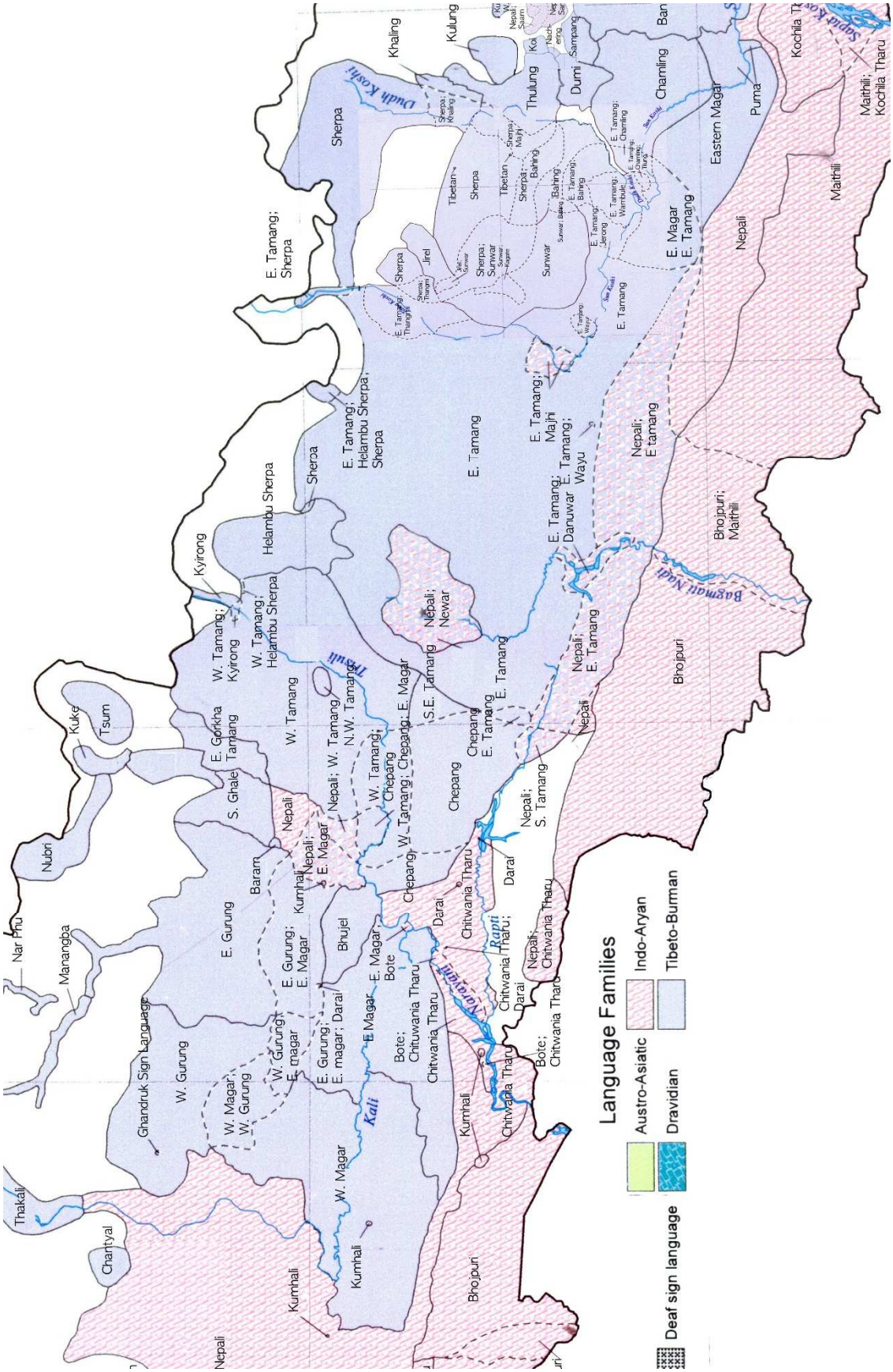


Figure 1.1: Administrative districts of Nepal
(reproduced from National Planning Commission GIS Facility 2004)

of the Mahabharat Lek in the south up to the Himalaya and the Tibetan border in the north (about 100km). The Tamang 'heartland' therefore encompasses parts or the entirety of the present-day Nepalese administrative districts of Gorkha, Dhading, Makwanpur, Rasuwa, Nuwakot, Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, Sindhupalchok, Kabhre, Sindhuli, Dolakha and Ramechap from west to east (see figures 1.1 and 1.2), although over the last two centuries many Tamang have migrated to more easterly parts of Nepal, and some even further to Darjeeling, Sikkim, Bhutan, Northeast India (particularly Assam and Nagaland) and Burma (Yonjan 1997: क).

The sociolinguistic context in which Tamang is spoken is complicated. There is a general tendency to language shift in favour of Nepali amongst most ethnic minority groups in Nepal, and the 2011 census (Central Bureau of Statistics 2012: 4) records that 186,519 people who declare their ethnicity as Tamang do not speak the Tamang language. It is likely that the vast majority of these speak only Nepali. Knowledge of the Tamang language is not essential in order to be considered a member of the ethnic group - as with most of the Tibeto-Burman groups in Nepal (Macdonald 1989: 168), Tamang ethnicity is determined by membership of patrilineal clans (Campbell 1997: 207). Historically the Tamang were one of the country's more marginalised minorities. During the oppressive Rana dynasty (1846 to 1951) they were legally classed as enslavable (Höfer 1981), and the Tamang language has traditionally held a low social status. The Tamang's social and economic marginalization from the national mainstream appears to have contributed to a relatively strong maintenance of the Tamang language, as the proportion of Tamang speaking their ancestral language (87.9%) is far greater than other comparably large but more integrated minorities such as the Newar (64.0%) and Magar (41.8%) (Central Bureau of Statistics 2012: 4). It seems that the majority of Tamang who cannot speak the Tamang language are those who live outside of the core Tamang area delineated above (Gurung et al. 2006: 14). Within the heartland, the language is in common use. Most Tamang are also bilingual in Nepali, and some speak other languages, the most important of which include Tibetan in terms of cultural importance; and Newar, Hindi, and more recently English in terms of economic importance.


Language Families
Austro-Asiatic
Indo-Aryan
Dravidian
Tibeto-Burman
Deaf sign language
Khaling
Kulung
Thulung
Dumi
Sampang
Sherpa
Tibetan
Jirel
Bahing
Sunwar
Channing
Eastern Magar
Puma
Kochila Tharu
Maithili
Nepali
Bhojpuri
Dudh Kosi
Sapta Kosi
Tamur
Arun
Barun
Sun Kosi
Barun Nadi
Kyirong
Helambu Sherpa
E. Tamang
W. Tamang
Chepang
Nepali; Newar
Danuwar
Wayu
Majhi
Nepali; E tamang
Bhojpuri; Maithili
Tsum
Kuke
Nubri
Nar Phu
Manangba
Ghandruk Sign Language
W. Gurung
W. Magar
E. Gurung
E. Magar
Baram
Chantyal
Thakali
Kumhali
Bhujel
Darai
Chitwania Tharu
Bote
Kali
Rapti
Narayani
Nepali; S. Tamang
Nepali; E. Tamang
Nepali; W. Tamang
Nepali; E. Magar
Nepali; Chitwania Tharu
Nepali; Darai
Nepali; Kumhali
Nepali; Bhojpuri
Nepali; Bote
Nepali; Chitwania Tharu; Darai
Nepali; Chitwania Tharu
Nepali; Kumhali
Nepali; Bhojpuri
Nepali; Bote; Chitwania Tharu

The Tamang have a complex history (see Holmberg 2005; Tautscher 2007), and are settled over an extended area of mountainous and sparsely populated terrain, where they are exposed to varied cultural and linguistic contact situations (recently importantly with Nepali, but also with a number of other Tamangic and Tibeto-Burman languages such as Tibetan, Newar, Gurung, Chepang, Yolmo, Thangmi and Sunwar). These factors have contributed to a high degree of geographical diversity in the Tamang language. Tamang have difficulty understanding dialects from distant areas (Mazaudon 1973: 37; Varenkamp 1996), and existing descriptions of Tamang (see section 1.3) display many differences in lexicon, phonology, morphology and syntax.[1]

The dialect which has been the focus of research for this thesis is spoken in the northern edge of the Tamang-speaking area. I conducted *in situ* fieldwork in two adjacent villages, Lekharka and Bhote Namlang, which are situated on the east bank of the Indrawati Khola. The map in figure 1.3 shows Bhote Namlang, while Lekharka, a smaller village, is the next village up the valley. The upper reaches of the Indrawati Valley lead directly up to the mountains, therefore the valley has traditionally not experienced much through-traffic and is relatively isolated even today. Consequently, the Tamang dialect of this area is considered quite distinct by Tamang speakers from other areas, who maintain that they can barely understand it. While ancestral Nepali-speakers (Brahman, Chetri and occupational castes), as well as Newar-speakers, live at lower elevations towards the valley floor, the upper parts of the valley and higher villages are overwhelmingly Tamang-speaking. Even Newar and Nepali-speakers speak Tamang in this area, and Tamang is the dominant language in many social interactions. In the upper valley and on the high ridges surrounding the valley there are some small Yolmo villages, whose inhabitants also speak Tamang.

[1] The SIL Ethnologue at http://www.ethnologue.com (accessed 01.05.2014) currently lists Tamang as five separate languages with five separate ISO-639 codes. These are Eastern Tamang (taj), Eastern Gorkha Tamang (tge), Northwestern Tamang (tmk), Southwestern Tamang (tsf) and Western Tamang (tdg). However, these do not represent discrete divisions, and it appears that the Tamang-speaking world is a complex dialect continuum, further complicated by migration patterns over several centuries. It therefore seems premature to propose treating Tamang as five discrete languages until more research is conducted on Tamang dialectology.

It appears that there is a complex history of intermarriage and shared history between Tamang and Yolmo in the area (Clarke 1980; Owen-Smith and Donohue 2012).

In the villages where I carried out my fieldwork, Tamang is the everyday language in all social domains (apart from state-dominated domains such as school, where Nepali is used), and all Tamang people who have grown up in the area can speak the language fluently. It appears that all adults also have some knowledge of Nepali. This knowledge is slightly more limited amongst old people. Teenagers and young adults are comfortable speaking Nepali, although some young children have very little knowledge of Nepali, which appears to be learnt later through schooling, media such as radio and television, and social interaction with other ethnic groups. The type of Nepali spoken here has a particularly Tamang flavour. One of the more obvious examples is the identification of Nepali mirative verbs in *-echa* and mirative copula *rahecha*, which are often analysed as indicating a state of affairs which is unexpected to the speaker (see Matthews 1988: 55), with the Tamang experiential evidential forms in *-cim* and experiential copula *ʔʈim*, which are used to denote new information of events directly perceived by the speaker (see section 3.3.6.2). The semantics of the two forms are quite different, and the frequency of the latter in Tamang is greater than that of the former in standard Nepali. However, it appears that Tamang speakers equate the Nepali mirative with the Tamang experiential (a category which standard Nepali lacks), and often tend to use Nepali *rahecha* in circumstances where they would use *ʔʈim* in Tamang.[2]

It is also evident that the variety of Tamang spoken in this area has absorbed some contact influence from Nepali, although it appears that this influence has only been strong over the last few generations (as mentioned above, older people's competence in Nepali is lower than that of younger people). A number of loans from Nepali can be picked out in Tamang discourse (these will be evident in the thesis as the words which are not marked for lexical tone), however these loans do not give an impression of intense structural influence from Nepali. Most Nepali loanwords in Tamang

[2] It is worth noting that this dialect of Tamang also has a discrete mirative category (see section 3.3.6.5).

are content words: nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs. Most of these are incorporated directly into Tamang morphosyntax: for instance, borrowed nouns take nominal inflectional morphology in exactly the same manner as native nouns (see section 3.2). Only verbal loans are incorporated using a different strategy (see section 3.3), which treats the borrowed lexical material in a similar manner to the non-verbal element of light verb constructions (see sections 3.3 and 5.7). Thomason's (2001: 70) 'borrowing scale', which assesses the degree of intensity of contact typically required for the transmission of various features, notes that such items are commonly transferred in situations of 'casual contact'. 'Basic' vocabulary domains such as body parts, pronouns etc. which might indicate a more intense contact influence, are still native and have not been borrowed. A few function words are also borrowed from Nepali, such as conjunctions *tara* 'but', *ki* 'or';[3] and Nepali numerals are often used for numbers above ten. Although Matras (2007) points out that conjunctions are amongst the categories most easily transmitted by language contact, on Thomason's (2001) borrowing scale these kinds of borrowing qualify Tamang-Nepali contact as 'slightly more intense contact' (although not for 'more intense contact' which involves borrowing more function words, as well as basic vocabulary).

Tamang's borrowing of Nepali lexical material is no doubt facilitated by the fact that the two languages - in accordance with general areal tendencies (see Masica 1976) - are generally verb-final at the clause level and head-final at the phrase level, which allows borrowed material to be easily slotted into a structurally equivalent position in the borrowing language. Similar word order is just one of a number of typological similarities and interesting features which Tamang shares with Nepali. I will note these at times during the thesis. However, in general Nepali does not appear to have had a great influence on structural features of Tamang. While it is tempting to speculate that certain aspects of Tamang morphosyntax, semantics or phonology might have been influenced by Nepali, in most instances there is not enough historical data about the relationship between the two

[3] The Nepali word for 'and' (*ra*) however is not used in Tamang. This reflects the universal tendency for coordinating conjunctions equivalent to 'but' and 'or' to be borrowed before the equivalent of 'and' (see Matras 2009: 158).

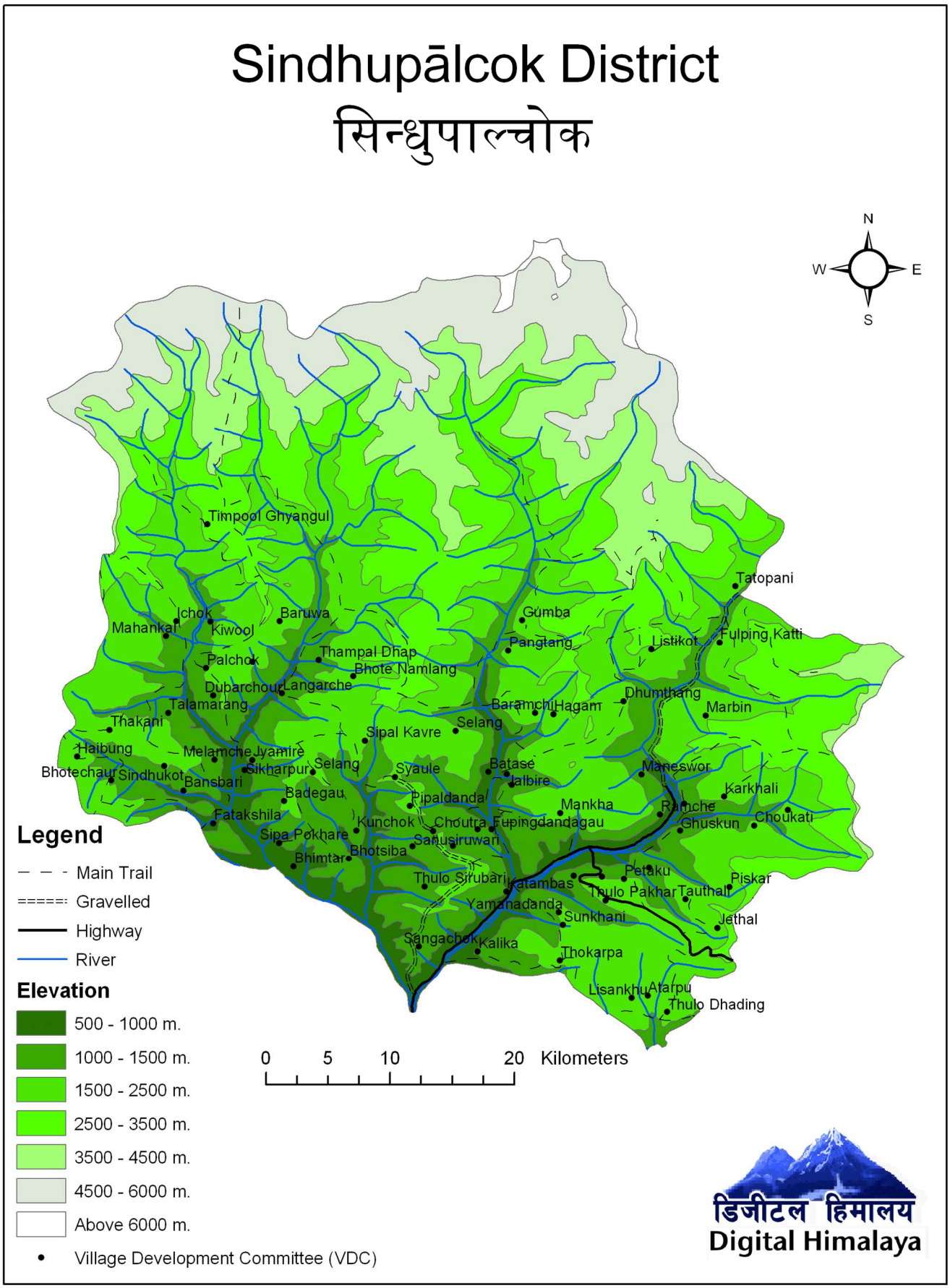


Figure 1.3: Sindhupalchok District (reproduced from Digital Himalaya, www.digitalhimalaya.com)

languages to make any conclusive proposals at present,[4] particularly as most of these features appear to be general areal tendencies rather than special characteristics shared between Nepali and Tamang alone.[5] This is a fascinating topic which deserves a thorough areal study of the region, but sadly it will not be possible to address it in detail in this thesis, which will focus on Tamang.

1.2 Genetic classification of Tamang

Tamang has been classified as a member of the Tamangic group, a relatively uncontroversial subgroup of Tibeto-Burman (Thurgood and LaPolla 2003) comprising about seven languages (Tamang, Gurung, Thakali, Manange, Chantyal, Nar-Phu, Seke)[6] which are spoken on the southern slopes of the Central Himalaya (see figure 1.2). The position of the Tamangic subgroup in the Sino-Tibetan family is somewhat less certain, as scholars still disagree about the high-level branching of the *Stammbaum* (Benedict 1972; Matisoff 1990, 2000, 2003; van Driem 1997, 2001, 2005; Bradley 1997; Watters 2002 *inter alia*). Shafer's (1955) classification still serves as the basis for most subgrouping proposals. It places Tamangic in the Bodish Section of the Bodic Division of Sino-Tibetan. Shafer's Bodic Division includes most Tibeto-Burman languages of the Western and Central Himalaya and Tibetan Plateau, while his Bodish Section includes what is now often referred to as the Tibetic group (see Tournadre 2014) and closely related subgroups. The relatively close relationship between the Tamangic and Tibetan subgroups is reflected in a number of features of Tamang which are reminiscent of Tibetan, such as rich development of evidentiality (see section 3.6), the superficial similarity (which suggests likely cognacy) between many of their case markers, and alignment which can be analysed on a trajectory model (see section 6.5). Table 1.1 shows Watters' (2002: 16) proposal for the subgrouping of the Bodic group, which is informed by research

[4] There are a few exceptions to this - for instance postposed non-finite completement clauses (see section 7.6.3) and correlative clauses (see section 7.7.3) which are both typologically untypical of Tibeto-Burman, and can quite safely be attributed to South Asian areal influences.

[5] There is also evidence - which warrants more detailed investigation - that Nepali itself is heavily Tibeto-Burmanized (see Owen-Smith 2013).

[6] For material on these languages, see Glover (1974) for Gurung, Georg (1996) for Thakali, Hildebrandt (2004) for Manange, Noonan (2003a) for Chantyal, Noonan (2003b) for Nar-Phu, and Honda (2002) for Seke.

over recent decades into many Himalayan languages which was not available to Shafer. Watters' naming of subgroups is not widely adopted by other authors, but the branching of the tree gives a useful insight into recent proposals for subgrouping in the family.[7]

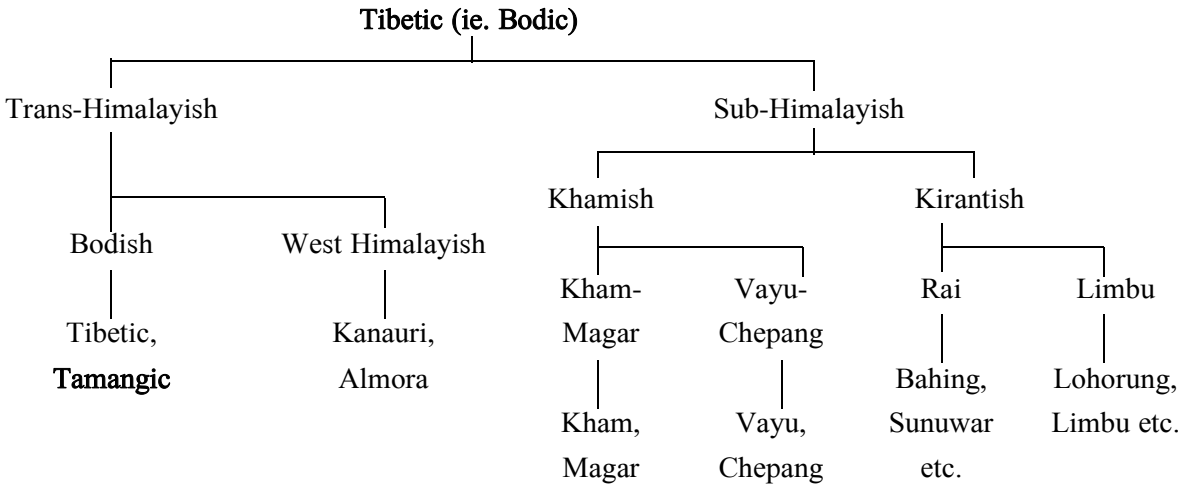


Table 1.1: Subgrouping of Bodic according to Watters (2002)

Within the Bodish subgroup, it appears that the Tamangic group moved south of the Himalaya and split off from Tibetic before the spread of Old Tibetan across the Tibetan Plateau in the 7th century (see Zeisler 2009; Tournadre 2014). However it is also likely that migration continued in both directions across the Himalaya for many centuries, and the Tamang's cultural orientation has traditionally been strongly towards Tibet (see Holmberg 2005; Tautscher 2007). The relationships between languages within the Tamangic group are complex, and likely to involve long-term contact and convergence, as well as separation and dialectal differentiation over wide areas. The only attempt which I have seen to represent the sub-grouping within Tamangic itself is by Noonan (2003a: 315), who presents a traditional tree diagram as follows:

[7] Watters' tree is missing several languages which are generally considered to belong in Bodic such as Newar, Thangmi and Tshangla.

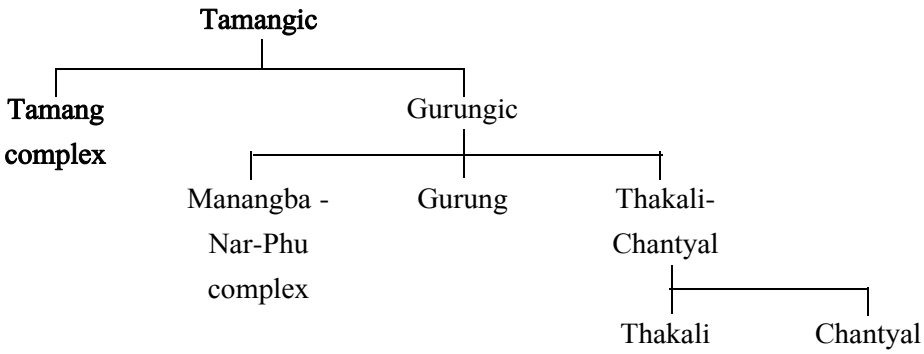


Table 1.2: Subgrouping of Tamangic languages according to Noonan (2003)

Although the nature of the tree diagram would give the impression that the relevant languages had split and separated from each other, it seems likely that the geographically close dialects of Tamang and Gurung would have been in contact for a significant period, and that the geographically contiguous languages of the group may form a dialect continuum (Mazaudon 2007).

1.3 Previous research on Tamang

The earliest linguistic analysis of Tamang appears in the Linguistic Survey of India (Konow 1909: 189-97), which includes several texts (which appear to be from an eastern variety) collected from Tamang speakers in Darjeeling in India, with a brief description of the grammar. More research has been conducted on the language in the last few decades in particular, especially as Tamang speakers have started to conduct research on their own language. This research includes a number of books, chapters and articles, including two sketch grammars: Yonjan (1997) based on the easterly variety spoken in Sailung (Sindhupalchok District) and Poudel (2006) based on a variety spoken even further east in Dhankuta District, outside the main Tamang area. These authors also deal with various aspects of Tamang morphosyntax in shorter publications, for instance Poudel (2004, 2008, 2009). Mazaudon has conducted research on the phonology of Tamang (see Mazaudon 1973), and made the important proposals regarding the system of four lexical tones, and the domain of tone over the whole phonological word, which characterizes Tamang and the Tamangic group in general (see section 3.1). She has also published several articles and chapters on various topics in Tamang morphosyntax based on her research on the variety of Risiangku in Sindhupalchok District

(Mazaudon 2003a, 2003b *inter alia*). Chalise has also written a number of articles, some of which deal with difficult aspects of Tamang grammar (Chalise 1999, 2000, 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2005). His data are from a westerly variety spoken in Bumthang (Nuwakot District). Various linguists working with the missionary organization SIL conducted research on the westerly dialect of Sahugaun in Nuwakot district in the late 1960s and 1970s, and published several papers and chapters on the morphosyntax-semantics interface (Taylor 1973; Everitt 1973) as well as discourse structure (Taylor 1978; Hepburn 1978).

From these works it is possible to get an overview of Tamang grammar in general, however it is evident that there are significant lexical, phonological and grammatical differences between dialects. Varenkamp (1996) has also published a sociolinguistic study investigating the geographical diversity and mutual intelligibility of Tamang varieties. However, a thorough linguistic study of Tamang dialectology is still to be completed.

1.4 Research questions

The essential objective of this thesis is to achieve a thorough analysis of grammatical relations in Tamang. This includes relations between predicates and their participants in both main and dependent clauses, as well as those which hold across clauses. It also spreads into issues such as the interaction between grammatical relations and other domains of the language such as pragmatics, information structure and the lexicon.

Grammatical relations in Sino-Tibetan languages have stimulated a lot of research across the family, which exhibits extremely diverse structures. These range from:

> i) cross-referencing up to three arguments on the verb with varying parallel patterns of case-marking on arguments (ie. frequent double marking, see Nichols 1986) in languages such as Kham (Watters 2002); Chepang (Caughley 1982); Thangmi

(Turin 2012); Limbu (van Driem 1987), Yakkha (Schackow 2014), Puma (Sharma 2013) and other Kiranti languages; and Japhug and other Rgyalrongic languages (Jacques 2004); to

ii) patterns with no verbal agreement where clausal relations are encoded through 'case' morphemes on participant NPs with varying degrees of syntacticization, including languages such as Meithei where case only marks non-syntactic (above all semantic) information (Chelliah 1997), and those such as Central Tibetan (Tournadre 1991) and Kurtöp (Hyslop 2011) which display mixed syntactic/non-syntactic patterns which interact with predicate classes; to

iii) a profile in which direct grammatical relations are not encoded by agreement or case-marking, but by a combination of word order, pragmatics and 'real world knowledge', as in Chinese (LaPolla 1993).

Topics which have been discussed particularly in the context of this family include the tension between verbal agreement (head-marking) and case (dependent-marking patterns) (LaPolla 1992b, 2012; DeLancey 1989, 2010, 2011b *inter alia*); the primarily semantic basis of 'case' systems in a number of languages, and the interaction of these systems with syntax on the one hand and pragmatics on the other (LaPolla 1992a, 1995, 2004; Chelliah 2009; Hyslop 2010 *inter alia*); and the apparent dissociation between the predicate and its participants, which can be related to features such as low referential density, wide prevalence of 'topic-comment' clause structures, and unusual 'non-integrative' agreement patterns (Bickel 1999b).

In the typology of the family presented above, Tamang represents the type which lacks verbal agreement and uses overt case morphemes to mark direct grammatical relations. Case-marking of direct arguments (see section 2.4) in Tamang is primarily semantic (see section 6.1.2), however it

can be considered partially syntacticized (see section 6.1.3) and also as having certain pragmatic properties (see section 6.3). In this regard, it interacts with a broader system reflecting pragmatics and information structure (see section 3.5), including a set of morphemes which specifically encode information structure status (see section 3.5.2); furthermore, both arguments of a transitive clause can also stand without overt case-marking, therefore we can also note that word order, pragmatics and real world knowledge also play a role in the construal of phrasal and clausal relations in Tamang discourse (see section 6.5).

This thesis will aim to achieve a thorough description of these patterns and the relationships between them, and where possible will fit them into a broader typology of patterns of clausal relations which have been observed in other languages in the Sino-Tibetan family.

1.5 Theoretical framework

This thesis is not written in any single theoretical framework, the main research question being to describe and explain phenomena encountered in Tamang as accurately and appropriately as possible rather than to test the efficacy (or otherwise) of any particular theory. However, as Dryer (2006) points out, no linguistic work can be considered totally theory-neutral. In chapter 2, I discuss theoretical frameworks and categories which have been proposed for the analysis of clausal relations, with regard especially to their usefulness and appropriateness for Tamang; I also consider certain aspects of Tamang which raise complications for these frameworks and how these can be resolved. The bulk of the analysis in the thesis is probably best considered as fitting into a functional-typological framework, and into the practical approach to descriptive linguistics that Dryer (2006) refers to as 'Basic Linguistic Theory'. I draw upon certain analytical tools, where appropriate, from other theories such as Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG, see Bresnan 2001; Dalrymple 2001) and Role and Reference Grammar (RRG, see Van Valin and LaPolla 1997), and make ample reference to grammars and other work on languages (many, though not all, of them in the same family) which display similar phenomena to Tamang.

1.6 Research methodologies

This thesis is based on data collected during two fieldtrips to Nepal, totalling a period of about 13 months. Of this time, about 5 months were spent in my main field research area, the villages of Lekharka and Bhote Namlang, on the east bank of the Indrawati Khola in the northern part of Sindhupalchok District. About one month was spent on trips to other Tamang-speaking areas to acquire data on other dialects. The remaining time was spent in Kathmandu, working with language consultants residing there and analysing data collected in the village fieldsites. This research was funded by a grant from the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Documentation Project, and forms part of the project *Cross-Varietal Documentation and Desciptive Study of Tamang* (IGS0087). As part of this project, I have recorded data from 13 villages across the districts of Sindhupalchok, Kabhre, Nuwakot and Rasuwa, representing a large portion of the northern area of Tamang settlement. These data are held at the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) at the School of Oriental and African Studies.

My approach to field research and data collection involves several different methods. Prominent among these is participant observation, which involved a significant period of residence in the speech community, learning to speak the language, and interacting in conversations and social situations. There are a number of benefits to this approach: it allows the researcher to develop enough knowledge of the language to be able to pick out structures in surrounding conversation which are linguistically interesting - which ultimately makes available a larger resource of accessible speech data, involving contributions from more speakers, than simply working with a recorded and transcribed corpus. It also allows the researcher to develop some intuitions about the language which are useful for directing and targeting particular topics in elicitation. Furthermore, it allows the researcher to be involved in a wider range of social situations in the community than if he/she cannot speak the language (see Dobrin 2014 for other benefits of a participant observation approach in linguistic field research). I acquired a lot of my early knowledge of the language through

conversation, and listening to conversations and social interactions around me. I subsequently used knowledge of the language which I had gained in this period as a starting point for elicitation of topics which seemed particularly difficult or interesting. Elicitation was conducted primarily in Nepali, but later involved a mixture of Nepali and Tamang. This was supplemented by a corpus made of recorded conversations and narratives, including a mixture of staged and natural speech data, which was transcribed and translated with the help of language consultants.

I collected data from a number of people in the villages of Lekharka and Bhote Namlang, which included a mixture of men and women and a range of ages, from teenagers to elderly people. My main language consultants were Saroj Tamang and Babu Tamang, two brothers from Lekharka. Sajak Yonjan transcribed and translated many texts in Kathmandu. I am grateful for their help, and that of many other people, but I thank them in the acknowledgements section rather than here.

1.7 Overview of thesis

In this chapter I have given a brief introduction to the context, objectives and approach of this research. The remainder of the thesis will be devoted to addressing the research question outlined in section 1.4.

Chapters 2 and 3 can be considered preliminary in this regard. Chapter 2 considers the relevant theoretical frameworks and categories which have been proposed with regard to the research questions, and some particular issues which arise from the application of these to Tamang. Chapter 3 gives an overview of the major aspects of Tamang grammar which do not fall under the main focus of the thesis, namely grammatical relations. This provides a basic analysis of categories and phenomena which are referred to in later chapters.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 examine grammatical relations in main clauses. Following the presentation of the set of case morphemes in chapter 4, chapter 5 gives an account of all the structures of main

clauses in Tamang, in terms of participant frames (see section 2.5), case-marking patterns, and factors which affect variations to these. Chapter 6 proceeds to a deeper analysis of clausal relations, which includes discussion of the properties of case morphemes and alignment, in the context of typological literature on the subject. It also looks at the relationship between grammatical relations and other domains of the language, specifically pragmatics, information structure and the lexicon.

Chapter 7 turns to grammatical relations in dependent clauses and structures of clause linkage, including cross-clausal relations which privilege certain arguments (ie. pivots, see Foley 2007) and those which do not, and where coreference/anaphora is influenced by conversational implicatures (see Grice 1975; Horn 2005), pragmatics, and real world knowledge. Chapter 8 will recap the most important findings of the thesis, situate them in the context of linguistic research on the relevant topics, and consider avenues for further research.

2. Theoretical approaches to the analysis of clause participants

In this chapter I will consider various approaches to the analysis of argument-predicate relations, which generally constitute a fundamental part of whichever theory or approach they are associated with (see section 2.1). I will also consider several issues which create complications for these approaches. These include definitions of valency and transitivity (see section 2.2), argument omission (see section 2.3), definition of the relationship of different types of noun phrase to the predicate (see section 2.4), and the importance of participant frames in grammar and discourse (see section 2.5). All of these topics are pertinent to the discussion of particular grammatical issues in Tamang, so for this reason also, it seems appropriate to look at them in some detail here. This chapter will also define certain categories which will be necessary for the later chapters on grammatical relations.

2.1 Basic categories for analysis of arguments

The notions of subject and object have their roots in the traditional categories of the same names (Butt 2006: 28). The terms are applied differently in different theories, but they are always strictly syntactic, in that they refer to abstract grammatical relations between arguments and a predicate. Subject and object are treated as fundamental categories in many linguistic theories. In Lexical-Functional Grammar they are taken as primitives (Dalrymple 2001: 3), and in Chomskyan frameworks, although they are defined structurally by phrase configurations, they are still considered to be relevant to all languages (Butt 2006: 29).

In the second half of the 20th century, linguists proposed other sets of analytical categories which incorporate - to varying extents - semantics into their definition. Semantics-based categories are

more useful for cross-linguistic comparisons than purely syntactic categories, which need to be defined individually for each language depending on the language's syntax.[8] Some of these, such as Fillmore's (1968) 'case roles' (now usually referred to as thematic roles) and Dowty's (1991) proto-roles, are based purely on semantics. Others, such as Foley and Van Valin's (1984: 28–32) macroroles and Dixon's (1994: 6) S, A and P,[9] require both syntactic and semantic criteria for their definition. Over the next few sections I will look at these approaches, and discuss their usefulness for the analysis of Tamang.

2.1.1 Subject and object, and critiques of them

The grammatical categories subject and object reflect a typological profile (common in classical Indo-European and modern European languages) in which clausal relations are strongly syntacticized to reflect generalized nominative and accusative alignment patterns, ie. a special status shared by the single argument of an intransitive clause (which can conveniently be referred to as 'S', following Dixon (1994), see section 2.1.4) and the more agent-like argument of a transitive clause (or 'A', see section 2.1.4), differentiating them from the more patient-like argument of a transitive clause (or 'P', see section 2.1.4).[10] The 'subject' relation (S = A) is instantiated in some languages by the nominative case and in others by word order. In many Indo-European langauges, the verb also agrees for person and number with S = A (ie. the subject). In nominative-accusative alignment patterns, P is traditionally referred to by the term 'object'. The 'object' relation can also be instantiated by case (specifically, the accusative) or word order.

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[8] Although syntactic terms such as the names of cases also have some cross-linguistic validity, which is based either on prototypical definitions or definitions based on a check-list of properties.

[9] While Dixon and many others use the term 'O' for the less agent-like argument, a number of authors (eg. LaPolla 1993; Andrews 2007) use the term 'P'. I prefer not to use 'O' for the same reason as LaPolla (1993:761 fn4) - 'because of its association with 'object' and the confusion that might arise from this association'. I will therefore use 'P' exclusively from this point on.

[10] Traditional definitions of 'direct object' and 'indirect object' also assume 'indirective' alignment patterns (see Haspelmath 2005) in distransitive clauses. Alignment patterns for three-place predicates will be discussed in more detail in sections 2.1.3 and 2.1.4.

Word order plays a fundamental role in the definition of grammatical relations in clausal analysis in Transformational Grammar and later Chomskyan frameworks, where relations are defined in terms of the hierarchical structural configurations between the constituents of a sentence (see Radford 1988: chapters 2 and 3). The basic structural definition of grammatical relations in this approach is as follows (Chomsky 1965: 71):

Subject-of: [NP, S]

Predicate-of: [VP, S]

Direct-Object-of: [NP, VP]

Main-Verb-of: [V, VP]

It follows that there is an asymetical relationship between the subject and object of a verb: while the object is part of the verb phrase (VP), the subject stands outside the VP, as represented in the following tree:

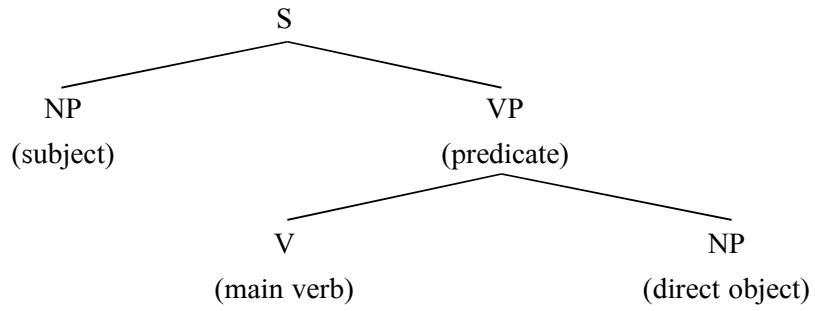

Table 2.1: Structural definition of subject and object

In Lexical-Functional Grammar, subject and object are not considered to be dependent on constituent structure (c-structure), but are part of an independent representation called the 'functional structure (f-structure)', where they are treated as abstract categories with 'no single universal structural form' (Bresnan 2001: 94). Dalrymple (2001: 8) states that LFG 'aligns itself with approaches in traditional, nontransformational grammatical work', where the abstract relations represented by these categories are assumed for all languages. In LFG therefore, the subject is

considered to be essentially the most prominent argument based on a set of syntactic criteria which are language-specific (Bresnan 2001: 95).

The LFG approach mentioned above moves away from definitions of subject and object based on the S = A versus P relations in the clause and is therefore able to accommodate patterns such as ergativity, which are problematic in traditional and Chomskyan frameworks (see Klimov 1984; Dixon 1994). However, in many languages the criteria which indicate a privileged argument do not all cluster around the same argument. An important development in the discussion on subjecthood was the recognition of the fact that the traditional concept of subject included a number of different properties working both inside the clause and across clauses, and related to the 'reference-related' (ie. pragmatic) prominence as well as 'role-related' (ie. semantic) prominence of the relevant argument. Schachter (1976) shows that in Tagalog and other Philippine languages, various grammatical properties which are traditionally associated with the subject argument are controlled by two separate categories which he calls the 'actor' and the 'topic',[11] which may be associated with the same argument, or with different arguments.

Keenan (1976) proposes that subjects can be defined in terms of a bundle of qualities which tend to cluster together. In this approach, subjecthood is a relative rather than an absolute concept, and an argument does not need to possess all of these in order to be a subject provided that no other argument in the clause possesses more. But other authors have argued that the breaking down of the concept of subject into componential properties which do not have to coincide undermines the use of the category cross-linguistically (see Foley and Van Valin 1977).

The definition of objects also throws up a number of problems, with complications arising from phenomena such as split case systems (see Dixon 1994: chapter 4), 'differential object marking' (see

[11] Schachter's use of the term 'topic' equates closely to what a number of linguists (eg. Dixon 1994; Van Valin and LaPolla 1997) refer to as the 'pivot'.

Bossong 1991) and different treatments across languages of the non-subject arguments of ditransitive clauses (see Dryer 1986). But just as importantly, as Andrews (2007: 179) remarks, in the analysis of a given language, it must also be shown that properties which frequently characterize subjects in other languages do not also apply to non-subject arguments in the language under discussion. Bickel and Yadava (2000) offer several good examples of syntactic properties which are often used as diagnostics for subjects (control of reflexivization, omission in converb chains, and conjunction reduction) which can just as naturally be used for both transitive arguments in several Indo-Aryan languages.

Some linguists have also argued that certain languages have no generalized grammatical relations at all, but grammatical marking which, as Dixon (1994: 28-9) puts it, 'directly describes the semantics of the conceptualisation of a particular situation without this having to be related to a prototype and filtered through basic syntactic relations'. Examples include languages where semantic roles (see section 2.1.2) directly determine the case assignment for core as well as oblique arguments. Bhat (1991) proposes that this is the case in Kannada. They also include languages where marking gives semantic information about the arguments (for instance the degree of control on the part of an agent or the degree of affectedness of the patient) in a particular utterance as opposed to roles defined by the argument structure of a verb. Meithei is often cited as an example of a language where grammatical marking in the clause is determined exclusively by these factors and not by any syntactic relation (see Bhat 1991; Dixon 1994: 29-33; Chelliah 1997). Similar factors also appear to be at play in 'stative-active' or 'split intransitive' languages, where the single argument of an intransitive clause (the S argument) can be marked in the same fashion as either the agent or the patient of a transitive clause, depending on factors such as the degree of control, affectedness etc. of the argument (see Mithun 1991).

The issues discussed above - as well as the realization that many languages display variable patterns of grammatical relations according to specific constructions (see Bickel 2010: 399) - raise the

question of whether the categories of subject and object, long considered so fundamental, are actually of any use for analysing certain languages. In the case of Tamang, which displays phenonena such as split intransitivity (see section 5.2.1), split and for the most part non-syntacticized case-marking for both arguments in transitive clauses (see section 5.3.1), differential patient marking (see section 6.2.3), frequent omission of patients as well as agents in coordinated and converbial clauses (see section 7.3), and various types of pivot (although often preference for the patient-like argument) across different types of dependent clause (see chapter 7), subject and object do not seem to be particularly useful categories. I will therefore consider some other categories which have been proposed for analysing clausal relations.

2.1.2 Thematic/semantic roles

Originally proposed in the Transformational Grammar framework under the term 'case roles' (Fillmore 1968), the categories now generally known as thematic roles (or semantic roles) (Payne 1997: 48) have been incorporated in some form into many theoretical frameworks, although theories differ as to the definition of the roles themselves, and how they relate to categories such as grammatical relations and morphological form.

In his original exposition of 'case roles', Fillmore (1968: 23) proposed that structural case relations are merely a form of surface structure, while the deep structure which underlies them is constituted by a 'proposition' P, 'a tenseless set of relationships involving verbs and nouns' (which I generally refer to as 'participant frames' - see section 2.5), which is combined with the constituent of 'modality' M (essentially the temporal, aspectual, modal, illocutionary force-related etc. meanings expressed in an utterance) in order to make a sentence (therefore, S→P + M). The 'case relations' which he proposes between a verb and its participants have been adopted into Government-Binding Theory and Minimalism, where they are usually called 'theta roles' (Butt 2006: 32). They are also proposed as a representation in the parallel stuctures in Lexical-Functional Grammar, which refers to them as 'a-structure' (Butt 2006: 122). But as Payne (1997: 52) points out, there is no way to

finalize how many roles should be assumed in the framework, and linguists disagree as to both the number of roles and their definitions.

Jackendoff (1972, 1976) develops a somewhat similar set of relations, although in his approach (which is adopted in Role and Reference Grammar, see Van Valin and LaPolla 1997, chapter 3), predicates are sorted into groups according to their logical structure based on a system of semantic decomposition of each predicate. This approach appears to have an advantage over Fillmore's as it is based on a principled system of lexical classes determined by a restricted number of semantic variables. This approach therefore affords less importance to roles themselves - which as we have noted, are somewhat messy and arbitrary - and treats them as part of a system by which arguments are assigned roles in an ultimately two-role system (macroroles).

2.1.3 Macroroles and proto-roles

Both of the approaches mentioned in the previous section have subsequently been developed towards more restricted systems with greater explanatory power, by reducing them from large and somewhat arbitrary inventories of roles to a much smaller number of generalized categories. Proto-roles retain the purely semantic character of thematic roles, while macroroles involve elements of both semantics and syntax.

Macroroles are a crucial component of the Role and Reference Grammar framework, and draw together ideas originally proposed by Vendler (1957) on the classification of predicates according to lexical aspect (*Aktionsart*) and Jackendoff's approach (mentioned above) which sees thematic roles as argument positions (x) and (y) in the logical structure of predicates (see Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 102-105). The macroroles 'actor' and 'undergoer' are defined as 'generalized semantic roles whose prototypes are the thematic relations agent and patient respectively' (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 143). As such, they subsume other proposed thematic roles which are closer to the agent (such as experiencer, instrument, force etc.) or patient (such as theme, location etc.) respectively. Certain

types of argument (eg. source, recipient) do not pattern closely with a prototypical agent or patient and can therefore be identified with either actor or undergoer depending on the logical structure of a given predicate. Van Valin and LaPolla note that the assignment of the actor macrorole tends to correlate with arguments which have a greater degree of agency over the state of affairs expressed in the clause, as in Table 2.2 (for further explanation, see Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 146):

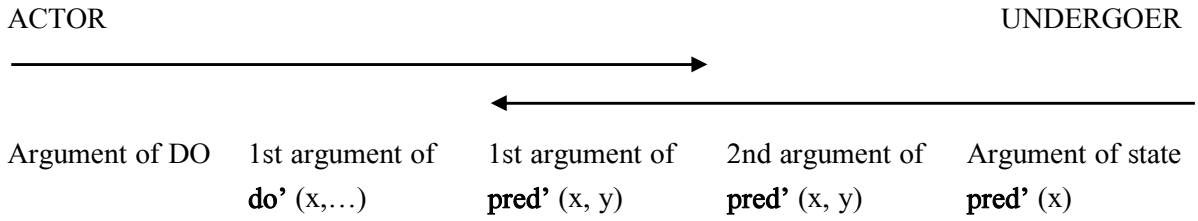

Table 2.2: Assignment of macroroles

A predicate can have either an actor or an undergoer or both. There can be maximally one actor and one undergoer per predicate, and no argument can have both roles. The argument of a one-place predicate can be either agentive (eg. *he is running*) or patientive (eg. *he died*). In two-place predicates the first argument (x) tends to be more agentive (ie. the actor) and the second argument (y) more patientive (ie. the undergoer), although there is an interesting point in the hierarchy where this can be reversed: in some two-place state verbs the less agentive argument stands as (x), patterning with typical actors, and the more agentive as (y), patterning with more typical patients. These cases include inverse verbs (for instance *it worries me*, *it seems to me*) which are most common with predicates related to experience, perception, emotion etc. which do not have a high degree of agentivity, and two-place predicates whose first argument is highly patientive (such as *undergo, suffer, sustain*). This approach helps to explain why a language may have several different patterns for predicates involving arguments which are not close to prototypical agents and patients (in Tamang some two-participant predicates govern different case frames from typical transitive verbs, see section 5.3).

Proto-roles are similar to macroroles in that they reduce the number of thematic relations to two, but they are defined differently and link to syntax in a different manner. While macroroles are ultimately assigned according to argument relations which are worked out from a system of lexical decomposition based on a limited set of primitive semantic properties of predicates, proto-agent and proto-patient are prototypes which are characterized by non-exhaustive lists of entailments (Dowty 1991: 572):

Proto-agent:

a. volitional involvement in the event or state

b. sentience (and/or perception)

c. causing an event or change of state in another participant

d. movement (relative to the position of another participant)

(e. exists independently of the event named by the verb)[12]

Proto-patient:

a. undergoes change of state

b. incremental theme

c. causally affected by another participant

d. stationary relative to movement of another participant

(e. does not exist independently of the event, or not at all)

These entailments are semantically independent of each other although they tend to cluster. To qualify as a proto-agent or proto-patient, an argument must meet at least one of the entailments, although frequently they will meet more. Dowty's proposal of agentivity and patientivity as gradable qualities of arguments, determined by a number of independent semantic factors, has links with Hopper and Thompson's (1980) concept of transitivity as a relative rather than absolute quality in

[12] The entailments enclosed in brackets Dowty proposes only tentatively.

clauses, also influenced by a number of semantic variables, including propositional factors (for instance aspect and modality) and factors related to the semantics of the predicate (eg. whether it involves movement, volition) and arguments (whether they are specific, bounded etc.).

Proto-roles are easily able to accommodate a variety of patterns in three-argument clauses. As noted by Dryer (1986), certain languages tend to treat the theme of a ditransitive predicate in similar way to the typical treatment of the patient of a two-place predicate in their syntax, while others tend to treat the recipient or goal of a ditransitive predicate in a similar way to the patient, and some allow alternating patterns. He refers to the former pattern as the 'primary object pattern' and the latter as the 'direct object pattern', while Haspelmath (2005, 2008) refers to them as 'indirective' and 'secundative' alignment respectively. Due to the flexibility of its terms, the proto-patient category can accommodate all these patterns (see Dowty 1991: 576), as well as alternative patterns for three-place predicates within the same language (for instance *load/spray*-type verbs, *fill/cover*-type verbs, *hit/break*-type verbs).[13] Haspelmath (2008) points out that the macrorole analysis of three-place predicates in RRG privileges 'indirective' patterns (that is, the relations traditionally known as 'direct object' and 'indirect object' - see section 2.1.1) and cannot adequately account for other patterns in ditransitive clauses.

Proto-agent and proto-patient categories, which allow agents and patients to be closer to or further from the prototypes according to a number of semantic variables, are useful for looking at Tamang, where case-marking of direct arguments is influenced by (amongst other things) semantic factors which include agency, affectedness etc. The closeness of participants governed by a given predicate to a proto-agent or proto-patient can provide an insight as to the range of case choices available in the predicate's participant frame, and the closeness of the participants to the proto-role categories in a given utterance (including factors such as aspect etc.) can help to explain the way that participants are marked in that utterance (see chapters 4, 5 and 6). The fuzziness of proto-role categories also

[13] See Margetts and Austin (2007) for a typology of three-argument events and coding strategies.

allows them great flexibility to deal with a wide range of constructions (eg. inverse case-marking patterns) without compromising the definition of the categories. For this reason prototypical categories are used in a lot of cross-linguistic and typological work (eg. Bickel and Nichols 2009; Bickel 2010), and I will refer frequently to prototypes over the course of this thesis.

2.1.4 S, A and P, and their extensions T and G

Proto-roles do not, however, give an insight into the valency of individual predicates. Dixon (1994: 6) insists that a system for discussing grammatical relations needs to distinguish valency as well as reflecting the semantic properties of arguments. He argues (Dixon 1994: 6) that S, A and P (first mentioned in section 2.1) are the most convenient way for discussing primitive grammatical relations, and that the relations subject and object - if they are present - should be defined language-internally in terms of these.

S, A and P are defined on both syntactic and semantic grounds: a syntactic division between intransitive and transitive clauses[14] but a semantic rather than syntactic approach to arguments. S is defined as the single argument of an intransitive clause. For transitive clauses, A is 'that role which is most likely to be relevant to the success of the activity' (Dixon 1994: 8), which equates to the more agent-like of the two arguments, while P is the less agent-like of the two arguments. The relativity of these categories bears a lot of similarity to Dowty's proto-agent and proto-patient, but on the other hand they share with macroroles the quality of being mutually exclusive, and closely determined by the valency of the clause. Although the distinction between intransitive clauses on the one hand and transitive clauses on the other rests on syntactic properties, the distinction between categories A and P is purely semantic and does not entail any particular manifestation in syntax.

[14] Note that Dixon does not appear to believe in much of a distinction between transitivity and valency, so in his terms monovalent essentially equals intransitive, while bivalent equals transitive. I will discuss this view, and transitivity and valency in general, in more detail in section 2.2.

As discussed in section 2.1.3, predicates differ with regard to how closely their arguments fit with prototypical concepts of agent and patient (see Tsunoda 1985). While the arguments of the verb *murder* are fairly close to the most prototypical agent and patient, those of the verb *remember* are further from these prototypes. It follows that verbs whose arguments are closer to the prototypes of agent and patient tend to display relatively regular patterns of syntactic relations (eg. standard nominative-accusative or ergative-absolutive patterns), whereas those which are further from these prototypes sometimes display less common patterns such as inverse verbal constructions or other case-marking patterns, such as possessive/genitive marking (see Bickel 2004). Some authors (eg. Bickel and Nichols 2009) use the terms A and P for the participants of all types of two-participant clauses. It is therefore possible to discuss, for example, inverse patterns (which are often referred to as 'dative subjects' in discussions of the phenomenon in South Asian languages) in these terms. In this thesis I take a slightly different approach to some clauses involving two-participants: clauses which clearly have two arguments I consider transitive and therefore possessing A and P arguments, whereas clauses which involve two participants but only one argument (the other being a complement - see section 2.4 for definitions) I consider intransitive, and their argument an S argument.[15]

Despite Dixon's insistence on the argument of an intransitive clause as a discrete category separate from the two arguments of a transitive clause, he states that there are two types of S - 'those S which are semantically similar to A (exerting control over the activity)…and those S which are semantically similar to O (being affected by the activity)' (Dixon 1994: 70), which he calls 'Sa' and 'So' respectively.[16] In fact Sa and A taken together, and Sp and P taken together bear many similarities to the macroroles and proto-roles discussed in the previous section (respectively actor/proto-agent and undergoer/proto-patient). The question of whether S is useful or not therefore

[15] This includes inverse clauses (see section 5.3.3) and intransitive clauses with complements (see section 5.3.2), Dixon's (1994) 'extended intransitive' type.

[16] As I have chosen to use the term P rather than O for the less agent-like argument, I will refer to Dixon's 'So' as 'Sp'.

depends on whether there is a principled reason for setting apart intransitive and transitive clauses. I will look at this question in more detail in section 2.2.

Like macroroles and proto-roles, S, A and P were developed essentially for discussing one-participant and two-participant clauses, and have similar difficulties dealing with three-participant clauses. Dixon sees no need to posit extra categories for discussing ditransitives, stating (1994: 6, 113-4) that he views ditransitive clauses as a subtype of transitives which he calls 'extended transitives', because the A argument is always dealt with in the same way in transitive and ditransitive activities. This could be seen as a weak point in Dixon's approach: in this framework a consistent label only exists for the argument of a three-place predicate which patterns with P in a two place predicate. With only three terms therefore, we are not able to make typological discussions on the syntactic patterns of three-place predicates with reference to consistent universal roles based on semantics (see section 2.1.2 on thematic roles).[17]

Noting this deficiency, other authors have proposed extensions to the inventory of categories in order to account for three-place predictates. Margetts and Austin (2007: 396) add the terms R (designating most commonly a recipient, but also a beneficiary, goal, addressee, location or source) and T (typically some thing or information conveyed by A to R). Bickel and Nichols (2009: 306) use G and T, defined respectively as 'the more goal-like non-agent-like argument of a three-place predicate' and 'the non-goal-like and non-agent-like argument of a three-place predicate'. They also split Dixon's A category into A1 and A2, used for the more agent-like argument of two-place and three-place predicates respectively, on the grounds that lexical semantics entail that A in three-place predicates is always a true agent and in control of the action, while A in two-person predicates can be either agentive (eg. *watch*) or non-agentive (eg. *see*). The extended set of categories allows for

[17] In recent work, however, Dixon (2010: 116-7) has proposed another primitive, E, which relates to the extra argument in 'extended intransitive' and 'extended transitive' (ie. ditransitive) clauses. I will discuss this extra primitive relation in more detail in section 2.4.

consistent typological comparison of the syntax of one-participant, two-participant and three-participant clauses.

In spite of their shortcomings, S, A and P are useful for discussing case and alignment patterns, in Tamang as in other languages. They can accommodate the variation in marking patterns over different predicates, and in different instances of the same predicate. As Tamang has certain split intransitive patterns, Sa and Sp are necessary in order to cover all patterns in the language.

2.2 Transitivity and valency

Another issue which has been raised with the S, A and P categories is with regard to the definition of transitivity. Dixon's definition of transitivity is based on the number of core arguments in a clause:

> All languages distinguish between clauses that involve a verb and one core noun phrase (intransitive clauses) and those that involve a verb and two or more core NPs (transitive clauses, including ditransitive as a subtype). (Dixon 1994: 6)

As mentioned in section 2.1.4, the definition of S, A and P follows from this distinction between intransitive and transitive clauses. Dixon (1994: 6) also states that although some languages (for example Latin, Dyirbal) divide verbs into strict intransitive and transitive classes, many languages (for instance English, Fijian) display a large number of ambitransitive (or alternatively, labile) verbs which can take either one or two core arguments (examples in English include *eat, knit, help* etc.). This discussion appears to indicate that for Dixon there is not an important distinction between transitivity and the syntactic valency in a certain instance of using a given verb.

Tamang possesses a number of ambitransitive verbs, including a set when argument appropriate for S in an intransitive instance can only appear as P in a transitive instance (van Breugel 2008: chapter

21 refers to such cases in Atong as 'S = P ambitransitives', while Letuchiy 2009: 247 refers to them as 'patient-preserving' labile verbs), and a set where the S argument in an intransitive instance can only appear as A in a transitive instance ('S = A ambitransitives'/'agent-preserving'). Whether the S argument in an intransitive instance corresponds to an A or P argument in a transitive instance can be determined by whether the S argument is agentive or patientive (that is, 'actor'/'Sa' or 'undergoer'/'Sp'), therefore S = P and S = A ambitransitivity are mutually exclusive.

The question of whether the intransitive and transitive uses of a verb represent two separate entries in the language's lexicon, or alternative patterns for the one lexical verb is a difficult one, and is related closely to patterns of zero anaphora and argument suppression, both of which are common in Tamang. As I will discuss in section 2.3, some linguists propose that S = A ambitransitivity is conditioned by reduction in valency caused by the 'suppression' of a potential P argument (see also section 6.3). This view suggests in such cases there is one - originally transitive - verb in the lexicon, which can be made intransitive through a derivative operation. Van Breugel (2008: 366-8) states that in Atong, where both zero anaphora and argument suppression are used, hearers generally infer whether the speaker intends a transitive or intransitive use of a given verb from the context, however this is not always possible (see section 2.3). The same can be said for Tamang. S = P ambitransitivity is perhaps similar, although we can make a distinction between verbs whose action, if expressed without an obvious A argument, can occur independently and spontaneously (eg. *[1]phup* 'collapse', *[1]chiŋ* 'wake up') and those whose action cannot (eg. *[3]pur* 'take away', *[2]tha:* 'cut' etc.) (see section 6.4). The former group, where the action can occur without an agent, appear to be fully ambitransitive verbs, while the second, for which some kind of agent must always be semantically inferred, seem more akin to what are sometimes called 'backgrounding passives' (see Foley 2007: 423-7).

In contrast to Dixon's approach where transitivity equates closely to valency, LaPolla et al. (2011: 471) place a greater importance on the distinction between the two, contending that 'identifying a

clause as transitive because it has two core arguments, and saying that it has two core arguments because it is a transitive clause' represents circular logic. The first question which arises regarding valency is with regard to the distinction between semantic and syntactic valency (see van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 147; Foley 2007: 383): while the first should in theory be universal and only the second language-specific, if languages have different syntactic valencies for equivalent verbs[18] it is difficult to determine what the semantic valency can be without basing it on the syntactic patterns of a particular language, unless we just assume for consistency's sake that the semantic valency of a verb is the maximum number of arguments that could theoretically be involved. Margetts and Austin (2007) point out that the number of participants involved in a proposition does not necessarily equal valency. They note (2007: 401) that for situations involving three participants, expressing all the participants as arguments is just one option amongst a number of strategies, and use the term 'three-participant event' in order to avoid the assumption that the valency of a verb incorporates all participants as arguments.

LaPolla et al. (2011: 476-7) draw attention to the status of P arguments in bivalent clauses. They argue that the presence or absence of a second direct argument is not a sufficient criterion to identify a clause as transitive, as propositions with a generic P argument and those with an individuated and referential P argument display different syntactic behaviour (Hopper and Thompson 1980 make a similar argument). As the state of affairs of a clause with a generic P is unbounded, the *Aktionsart* of such a clause is an activity (based on Vendler's 1957 classifications mentioned in section 2.1.3), whereas an individuated P entails a bounded action, whose *Aktionsart* is classified under the same scheme as an active accomplishment. This difference in *Aktionsart* entails syntactic differences in the way such propositions can be expressed. For instance one can use temporal adverbials appropriate for unbounded actions such as *for an hour* with a generic P (eg. *he ate pizza for an hour*), and an abverbial indicating bounded events such as *in an hour* with an individuated P (eg. *he*

[18] For instance, while the verb *send* in English is typically considered trivalent (eg. *I sent a letter to Mark*), the equivalent verb in Kham is bivalent in the lexicon and cannot take three arguments (Watters 2002: 255-6).

ate the pizza in an hour). Whereas the second example can easily be passivized in English (*the pizza was eaten in an hour*), the generic P in the first example does not sit well as the subject of a passive clause, indicating that while the individuated example has qualities typical of a transitive clause, the generic example does not.

LaPolla et al. (2011: 477) propose defining transitivity on the basis of the number of macroroles which are present in a clause.[19] In this approach, as the second arguments of activity predicates are not referential they are considered only to characterize the action of the predicate, and therefore do not qualify for undergoer status. In this view of transitivity (which is referred to as 'M-transitivity', see van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 150), activity clauses are therefore viewed as intransitive. As there is a maximum of two macroroles per clause, it also follows that clauses involving three arguments are also considered transitive (or possibly even intransitive, if the theme is generic and unbounded) in this model (see section 2.1.3 for discussion of criticisms regarding this approach).

With this approach, it is easy in a language which has a definite article (such as English) to distinguish between two-argument clauses which involve two macroroles and would therefore be considered transitive (eg. *he ate the pizza*), and those which involve only one macrorole and would be considered intransitive (eg. *he ate pizza*). It is also quite simple to distinguish between transitive and intransitive clauses in languages which have separate sets of inflectional morphology for transitive and intransitive verbs, such as Rawang (see LaPolla 2011) and Kham (see Watters 2002). The distinction is less obvious in Tamang, which has no information about transitivity in its verbal inflection, and does not have a definite article. While aspect can help us distinguish an undergoer for some clauses (for example P in a perfective clause is likely to have been substantially affected and is highly likely to qualify as an undergoer), some common verbal inflection patterns (most importantly

[19] This is based on the approach which is adopted in RRG, discussed at length by van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 147-54).

nominalized verbs used as main verbs) do not clearly indicate aspectual information.[20] Therefore, based on these criteria there are some challenges to ascertaining the valency of some Tamang clauses, unless the fact that P is referential can be deduced from context. In this thesis, I will refer to all clauses involving two direct arguments (see section 2.4) as 'transitive', as not all the variations in case-marking which are evident in such clauses can be accounted for by the P argument's referential or individuated status, therefore there is no particular benefit to restricting the term transitive to clauses which have referential, individuated P arguments.

2.3 Omission of arguments: zero anaphora and suppression

Zero anaphora - the omission of topical arguments in discourse - is a common feature in Tibeto-Burman languages (see Thurgood and LaPolla 2003). In the areal context, it is also common in Indo-Aryan languages (see Bickel and Yadava 2000). Bickel (2003) refers to the variable of overt argument expression (either through full nouns or pronouns) as the 'referential density' of a language. Tamang can be placed towards the low end of the referential density scale: any argument can be omitted if it is recoverable from the discourse context (see text in Appendix). This tendency is known as 'pro-drop' in some linguistic theories (see Bresnan 2001: 146), and assumes that although arguments are not overtly expressed, they must have positions in the structure of the clause which allow their reference to be understood. These positions are simply not filled with phonological material. Zero anaphora in Tamang can occur in part of a sentence with coordinated clauses (usually after the first clause, see section 7.2) or converbs (in either or both dependent clauses or the main clause, see section 7.3).[21] It can also occur if a clause is the only clause in a sentence, meaning that zero anaphora can operate across sentence boundaries. The equal license to

[20] It appears that the ergative case in Tamang - which tends to be used in scenarios with a higher degree of transitivity - can indicate that a P argument is a bounded quantity. This strategy appears to cover similar ground to the distinction between NPs with and without the definite article in English. I discuss it in more detail in section 6.1.2.

[21] There are also obligatory gapping strategies in relative clauses (see section 8.7) and governed non-finite complement clauses (see section 7.6). Bickel and Yadava (2000) emphasize the difference between cases of compulsory gapping which are controlled by pivots, and instances of (non-compulsory) argument omission which are not.

drop P as well as S and A indicates that the arguments have a flat relationship with the predicate in Tamang, as opposed to languages like English where only the subject argument, which stands outside the verb phrase (see section 2.1.1) can be omitted over coordinated and converbial clauses. Furthermore, in English zero anaphora cannot operate over sentence boundaries.

It is also possible in Tamang to omit arguments which are not recoverable from context. Discussing another Bodic language Tshangla, Andvik (2010: 115) proposes that there is an important difference between zero anaphora which involves the omission of topical and recoverable arguments, and 'argument suppression'. Folowing Payne (1997: 170), Andvik (2010: 115) notes that the two strategies are used under precisely opposite circumstances: while zero anaphora is used when the identity of an argument is 'so well and recently established that confusion with some other entity is impossible', argument suppression is used when the identity of an argument 'has not been established and need not be established in order for the speaker to achieve his/her communicative goal'. Andvik (2010: 115) follows Payne's (1997: 170) opinion that argument suppression constitutes a valency-changing operation, while zero anaphora does not affect the valency of the verb. Considering similar phenomena in Classical Tibetan, Andersen (1987: 285) raises the question of whether:

> i) the constituents that are not present have been generated, filled with lexical material and then deleted, ii) the constituents have been generated but not filled with lexical material, or iii) the constituents have not been generated at all.

If we follow Payne's distinction between zero anaphora and argument suppression with regard to this question, it would appear that either (i) or (ii) of Andersen's suggestions regarding Classical Tibetan applies to cases of zero anaphora, whereas (iii) applies to argument suppression, where the valency of a predicate is actually reduced.

Zero anaphora is more common than argument suppression. Argument suppression is more common with the P argument of transitive predicates, as S and A arguments in the great majority of cases tend to be topical (Keenan 1976). However, it can also occur with A arguments: such instances can be considered examples of 'backgrounding passivization' (see Foley 2007: 423-7). Both of these patterns can be considered to form part of a set of functions which I refer to as 'perspective', by which Tamang is able to foreground and background certain elements in discourse without using structures such as passives and anti-passives which are dependent on syntacticized clause relations (see section 6.3). For an ostensibly missing argument of a two-argument predicate to be a clear case of argument suppression, there must be no referents in the preceding discourse which could be interpreted as occupying the position but omitted due to zero anaphora. As preceding discourse often contains entities which this omitted argument could refer to, another strategy exists to downplay the identity of patient role in a transitive clause. This involves using a generic and semantically rather weak second argument, which allows the patient (and hence the state of affairs) of the predicate to be interpreted quite generically. For instance, while English can use the verb *eat* without an object to indicate eating as an activity, in an equivalent context in Tamang the verb *[1]ca* 'eat' often takes a dummy object *[1]kan* 'rice, cooked grain' (used for rice, maize meal etc.) so that a particular morsel of food somehow topical in the context is not inferred. Likewise, to indicate the action of talking or speaking, Tamang uses the verb *[2]paŋ* 'say' with a dummy object *[1]tam* 'thing, word', which indicates that one means the action of speaking rather than saying a specific thing.[22]

Patterns of argument omission in several Tibeto-Burman languages which allow both zero anaphora and argument suppression have led linguists working on them to define valency or transitivity on the basis of the maximum number of core arguments which might be overtly expressed with a given verb or in a hypothetical clause with a certain predicate, rather than the actual number of arguments which are expressed (see eg. Huber 2005: 85-6 for Kyirong Tibetan; van Breugel 2008: 363 for

[22] The verb *[2]paŋ* 'say' often takes a clausal complement rather than a nominal P argument. While Tamang's verbal lexicon possesses a number of complex predicates (see section 5.7), the expressions discussed here (*[1]kan [1]ca* 'eat' (generic), *[1]tam [2]paŋ* 'talk') do not appear to be complex predicates.

Atong; Andvik 2010: 155 for Tshangla). However Van Breugel (2008: 367-8) notes that in Atong it is not always possible for the hearer to distinguish between cases of zero anaphora and argument suppression:

> there is usually something in the real world context that is understood by the speaker and the hearer as an implied O in those cases where a transitive verb is used without overt O. We cannot look into the speaker's mind to see whether this possible O is implied or not.

A similar argument could be made for Tamang, which likewise does not make an overt distinction between intransitive and transitive clauses. In general, we can characterize Tamang as a language where a large amount of information made explicit in many languages by devices such as overt pronouns or argument cross-referencing on verbs (often involving a gender or noun class system) or switch reference systems, is left for hearers to infer from context. Huang (1984) calls such languages 'cold languages', as opposed to 'hot languages' in which participants are identified more explicitly.

However it appears that Tamang discourse does operate on certain principles which help hearers to identify and track participants in discourse. The first of these is the principle of participant frames (see section 2.5), which suggest which of participants currently activated in the discourse (including the speaker and addressee) is more likely to be the S, A or P (or, for that matter, G or T) argument of a given verb. The second aids hearers to infer more information about the person status of arguments (particularly the S or A argument of a clause) from conventional implicatures (see Grice 1975) arising from semantic parameters such as polarity, evidentiality and modality (see sections 3.3.1, 3.3.6, 3.3.8 and 3.5).

2.4 Types of noun phrase: arguments, complements and adjuncts

A discussion of grammatical relations between noun phrases and predicates needs to be based on a clear definition of the types of noun phrase which are involved, and the different types of relationship which they can bear towards the predicate. In this section I consider the definition of participants (ie. arguments and complements) and how these can be distinguished from adjuncts. I also consider the distinction between direct and oblique arguments. The definitions of these categories and the boundaries between them have implications for discussions of valency and transitivity (see section 2.2), as well as case-marking and alignment patterns which I will look at later in chapters 5 and 6.

Adjuncts are generally understood to be elements which provide information which is additional to, and not required by, the argument frame of a particular verb (van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 27; Andrews 2007: 157), and which is circumstantial to the essential proposition of the sentence which is contained in the predicate and arguments. As such, they can be considered modifiers (Dalrymple 2001: 25). As adjuncts provide information which is not constrained by the lexical requirements of a predicate, they are not semantically selected (unlike arguments), and can provide any kind of information so long as it is relevant to the action of the main clause. They are also more varied syntactically, and can be phrases within the main clause (for example, the phrase *in the park* in the clause *Tanya saw James in the park*), or separate clauses altogether (for example, the dependent clause *watching the door* in the sentence *watching the door, he picked up a cricket bat*). If an adjunct is an NP inside the main clause (rather than being clausal itself), it appears that it is always oblique (that is, governed by a case or adposition), and stands as a peripheral part of the clause (van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 27). As discussed in section 2.3, in operations such as zero anaphora or gapping, arguments are often assumed to be present in some way even if they are not overtly realized. Adjuncts on the other hand are only present in as far as they are overtly articulated. However it is not always easy to ascertain whether a certain noun phrase is required by the predicate or whether it is providing extra information, particularly in propositions involving three participants (see Margetts

and Austin 2007: 398), such as an agent, theme and location. For example, should *bin* be considered an argument in the clause *he threw the leftovers in the bin*, if we could also say *he threw the leftovers away*, using a directional adverb rather than a noun phrase?

One means which has been proposed for distinguishing adjuncts in the clause from oblique arguments is to consider that while the case or adpositional marking on an oblique argument does not contribute to the meaning as it is specified by the predicate, the marking of an adjunct is independent of the predicate, and therefore makes in independent contribution to the meaning of the adjunct phrase (see Andrews 2007: 158-60). However, some predicates do allow options of more than one case or adposition for certain arguments, the choice of which is determined by semantics rather than the syntactic specifications of the predicate. An example in English is the verb *put*, which introduces its third argument (the goal role) with *in, on, into, onto*, *at* or some other preposition, for example *he put the lighter in(to) the draw / on(to) the windowsill / at the foot of the bed*.

Nichols (1983: 171-2) refers to cases with a restricted number of options as 'subcategorization', as opposed to 'government', where the case or adposition is absolutely specified by the predicate. The fact that the case used in such instances is determined by semantics indicates that it does make a contribution to the meaning, therefore there is not a strict divide between governed arguments and non-governed adjuncts. It seems that we must allow for government to include subcategorization, by which a predicate governs a limited choice of case options, and which of these is used depends on the semantic relationship of the NP vis-à-vis the predicate. The inclusion of subcategorization as a form of government is important in Tamang, where non-syntactic factors play an important role in case-marking (see chapters 4, 5 and 6). Many predicates allow a variable marking for their arguments, however it appears that there are never more than two options, and furthermore these options are restricted to those which are appropriate for the role of the NP (for instance, A

arguments can only be absolutive or ergative, while P arguments can only be absolutive or patientive). By this definition, all arguments in Tamang can be considered to be governed.

Many linguists also distinguish two types of argument: core/direct[23] and oblique arguments. Dalrymple (2001: 10) proposes that core arguments or 'terms' can be distinguished from oblique arguments by the fact that they behave differently in constructions involving anaphoric binding and control: core arguments comprise the functions which are known as SUBJ, OBJ and 'the family of thematically restricted objects OBJ_θ' ie. the arguments which are generally considered to make up the valency of a verb. She also notes (Dalrymple 2001: 10) that the subject and 'primary object' are semantically unrestricted functions, while the 'secondary object' and oblique arguments are restricted to particular thematic roles. The fact that only two arguments are semantically unrestricted gives some support for proposals such as those discussed earlier which give special prominence only to two arguments, for instance two macroroles and two proto-roles (see section 2.1.3), Dixon's assertion (see section 2.2) that ditransitive clauses are just a subclass of transitives (indicating that a maximum of two arguments are important), and - in languages which display evidence for them - subject and object.

Andrews (2007: 152-3) in fact only includes S, A and P - ie. the semantically unrestricted arguments - as direct arguments, and indicates (2007: 154) that oblique arguments (including in her definition, secondary objects) always take a particular case/adposition, the choice of which is determined (at least to some extent) by the predicate, while direct arguments are or can be expressed in some languages (eg. English, Tamang) by bare NPs (although in some languages, such as Russian, all arguments bear case). In recent work, Dixon (2010: 116-7) makes yet another proposal for direct arguments. Maintaining his position that S, A and P are the basic core arguments, he also proposes that some languages have 'extended transitive' and 'extended intransitive' clauses, which each have

[23] The distinction between the terms 'direct' and 'core' is not wholly clear, as linguists use these terms differently. It appears that there is enough overlap in the terms that they refer essentially to the same category.

an extra core argument 'E'. 'Extended transitive' clauses are what most linguists refer to as ditransitives, while 'extended intransitives' are clauses whose predicate is intransitive (in that it does not have an object/patient/undergoer) but does involve a second participant, for example *he went to India*. The designation of NPs such as *India* as core arguments is confusing, as these are what most other linguists would call 'obliques' or 'complements', in opposition to core arguments. But this proposal does remind us of the important status of oblique participants in the argument frames of some predicates.

With regard to Tamang, adjuncts can be distinguished from participants by the fact that they are not semantically selected by the predicate, and can provide various kinds of circumstantial information. They are introduced by case markers which provide information about their role, and are by definition oblique. Participants are the various kinds of noun phrase which are governed (or subcategorized) by the predicate, and can be divided into arguments and complements. Arguments can be divided into direct and oblique arguments upon the following basis: direct arguments are those whose case frame includes no overt case marker (ie. absolutive case, represented by a zero morpheme), either as the only case option or as one of two options, while oblique arguments must carry an overt case marker. Based on the semantic-syntactic categories introduced in section 2.1.4, S, A, P and T arguments are direct arguments (T is always without overt case-marking, while any S, A or P argument of a given predicate may also stand without overt marking under the correct conditions). This definition of direct arguments, which excludes G, is close to Andrews' (2007: 152-3) definition of core arguments.[24] G on the other hand is an oblique argument: it must always carry overt case-marking, which is usually dative (in ditransitive clauses) although it can be locative, for instance with three-participant verbs such as *²than* 'put' which subcategorize either for an NP or a

[24] G is considered in some theories (for example Lexical-Functional Grammar, see Dalrymple 2001: 13) to be a core argument or 'term'. However this view is not universal: despite their significant theoretical differences, neither Transformational Grammar (see Butt 2006: 29) nor Role and Reference Grammar (see Haspelmath 2008) see G as a core argument. Neither does Dixon, who sees (1994: 6) ditransitive clauses as a subcategory of 'extended' transitive clauses with an extra 'oblique' element. Apart from case-marking in the main clause, there is further syntactic evidence in Tamang that G is a more peripheral element than T: if a ditransitive clause is relativized, T has a status of more privileged access to the status of pivot than G does (see sections 7.7.1 and 7.7.2).

locational adverb. The set of direct arguments corresponds to the functions which Dalrymple (2001: 13-4) defines as 'direct functions' or 'terms'. It includes the semantically unrestricted categories S, A and P, as well as T arguments, which are semantically restricted to themes. Complements are those participants of two-participant constructions which cannot be direct arguments, as they cannot stand without overt case-marking: they can be marked either in the dative case (with some intransitive verbs (see section 5.3.2) and inverse predicates (see section 5.3.3)) or in the locative case (with some intransitive verbs). This category corresponds quite closely to the 'extended intransitive' component of Dixon's (2010: 116-7) 'E' mentioned above. Beneficiaries can also be considered complements, as they are semantically selected by the predicate, and can only occur with certain predicates (see section 5.4.2): analogously to Dixon's extended intransitives, they could be considered a type of extended transitive, where an extra participant is added to a transitive clause. The terms defined in this paragraph provide principled categories for discussing grammatical relations in Tamang. They can be represented as follows:

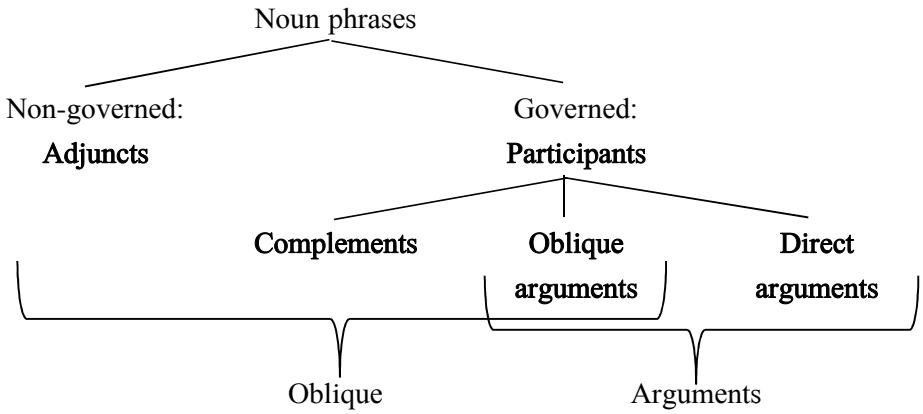

Table 2.3: Types of noun phrase in Tamang

Oblique arguments share argument status with direct arguments, however they share with complements and adjuncts the property of being oblique. The direct/oblique distinction therefore distinguishes direct arguments from all other categories.

Many linguists have considered the question as to whether cases can be divided into direct and oblique cases according to their use on direct and oblique elements (see eg. Nichols 1983: 170;

Blake 2004: 31-33; Haspelmath 2009: 507). Before addressing this question, I will need to explain the uses of cases in grammatical relations. I will therefore return to this matter in section 6.1.6.

2.5 Participant frames

Both valency, and government of case patterns can be considered as part of what Bickel refers to as 'event frames', defined as 'the way in which cognitive participation frames (in the sense of Fillmore 1977) are mapped into linguistic clause structures' (Bickel 1999b: 2). Frames include specifications by a predicate about the roles of its participants, as well as about the structural (particularly case) status of those participants (referred to in Lexical-Functional Grammar as 'a-structure' and 'f-structure' respectively). They therefore represent an important point of interface between the lexicon and grammar of a language. As some predicates represent states rather than events, I use the terms 'predicate frames' or 'participant frames' to refer to this concept. As mentioned in section 2.3, there are also links between role and case specifications, and other properties of a predicate such as *Aktionsart* and ambitransitivity.

While participant frames exist in all languages, it appears that in a language such as Tamang where (as mentioned in earlier sections) arguments are frequently omitted and case assignment is not strictly syntactic, they play a greater role in the interpretation and construal of discourse than in languages such as English, whose syntax eliminates to a greater extent ambiguities around the identity and role of arguments through strategies such as compulsory use of pronouns and constituent structure rules.

The frame which is associated with a particular predicate in a language's lexicon includes the valency of the predicate, as well as roles and case specificiations associated with it, but also includes more specific information about the nature of each argument. With transitive predicates, it specifies which is the first argument (ie. x, A or, in some languages, the subject) and which is the second argument (y, P or, in some languages, the object). For example, with the two-place English verb

drink, an arrangement of arguments such as *Michael drank the whiskey* is acceptable, whereas the opposite arrangement *the whiskey drank Michael* does not make sense. This is because the frame of *drink* does not only specify two arguments, but also that one (x) must be an agent and one (y) a patient, and even more specifically that x must be animate (either human, animal or possibly plant), and that y must be inanimate and specifically a liquid.

These specifications reflect positions on what is usually referred to as the 'animacy hierarchy' (Foley 2007: 413) or 'referential hierarchy' (Bickel 2008) - the cross-linguistic tendency for noun phrases which are more animate and more referential to stand as the first argument of a predicate (ie. as A arguments, which also tend to be topical), and those which are less animate and more referential to stand as the second argument of a predicate (ie. as P arguments, which tend to be focal) (see Comrie 1989: 128-9). The gist of the hierarchy is as follows:

> first/second person pronouns > other human noun phrases > animal noun phrases > inanimate noun phrases (Comrie 1981: 128)

However, the details of the hierarchy differ from language to language. For instance, Algonquian languages make a hierarchical distinction between proximate and obviative third person noun phrases (Comrie 1989: 129), and some make more fine-grained semantic distinctions regarding animacy, for instance Navajo, which acknowledges the following hierarchy:

> humans > animals > insects > natural forces > plants, inanimate objects > abstract notions (Bresnan 2001: 164)

At the ends of the spectrum, the inherent properties of humans and inaminate objects or abstract notions, for instance, entail that they naturally tend towards the roles actor/proto-agent and undergoer/proto-patient respectively (see section 2.1.3); while noun phrases in the middle of the

spectrum such as animals and natural forces are not very close to prototypical agents or prototypical patients. As the discussion surrounding macroroles (see section 2.1.3) highlights, the majority of two-argument predicates place the more agentive argument as the first argument (x) and the less agentive as the second argument (y). In natural discourse therefore, due to their high degree of agentivity, human and other animate referents tend to occupy the first argument position and less animate, less agentive referents tend to occupy the second argument position (see Dixon 1994: 84).

However there are instances where this is not the case, for instance if both arguments are human (eg. *Carla slapped Tony*) or if the first argument is inanimate and the second human (eg. *Dave's memories torture him*). Such situations, which are not typical of the general tendency, are a motivation for structures such as inverse alignment systems and differential object marking which flag marked scenarios (Comrie 1981: 128-36). They may have also been a factor in the development of case morphology in Tibeto-Burman languages, which LaPolla (2004: 54) proposes developed initially to disambiguate roles in scenarios where they were not obvious from the tendencies suggested by the participant frame (see section 6.1.2).

There are also instances of lexicalized inversion, which (as mentioned in section 2.1.3) include two-place predicates whose first argument is higher on the animacy hierarchy but also highly patientive (eg. *he suffered many wounds*); and inverse verbs (eg. *her voice pleases me*), whose frames assign the first argument position to a noun phrase which is lower on the animacy hierarchy and more typically patientive (eg. the stimulus *her voice* in the above example), and the second position to one which is higher and more typically agentive (eg. the experiencer *me* in the example). Languages differ with regard to the proportion of inverse verbs in their lexicon (see Nichols 2008). In Tamang this pattern is more common than it is in English, and involves predicates related to experience, sensation, perception and emotion. We can refer to these verbs as having an inverse argument frame (see section 5.3.3).

As Dixon (1994: 84) points out, the lexical semantics associated with the action expressed by a predicate often imply entailments about the animacy of its arguments:

> For many verbs the A NP is normally human (e.g. 'believe', 'tell', 'decide'); for others it may be human or animate (e.g. 'bite', 'see'); very few, if any, verbs are restricted to an inanimate A. There is more variety with regard to O: for a verb like 'see' anything could be O; for 'shoot' or 'spear' the O is likely to be animate or human; for 'pick up' or 'roll' it is most likely to be inanimate.

One-place predicates also select for their arguments in terms of animacy. For instance, the S arguments of the English verbs *sleep* and *smile* are typically human (except in metaphorical or lyrical uses), while those of *crumble* and *evaporate* are typically inanimate. Merlan (1985) points out that the animacy of the S argument plays an important role in split intransitive systems, and we see that this is the case in Tamang (see section 5.2.1).

As mentioned above, certain verbs have argument frames which are even more semantically specific. For instance, the argument of *evaporate* must usually be a liquid, that of *disintegrate* must be a solid, that of the one-place verb *set* must be a celestial body such as the sun or moon, and that of *meow* must usually be a cat. It appears that this real world knowledge which is associated with the semantics of predicates plays a greater role in languages which, like Tamang, have relatively underspecified syntactic relations, than in those such as English, in which argument-predicate relations are strongly syntacticized. LaPolla (1993: 768-9) exemplifies this difference with examples from English and Chinese:

2.1	*nei*	*ge*	*ren*	*ba*	*xigua*	*diao*	*zai*	*dishang,*	*sui*	*le.*
	that	CL	person	BA	watermelon	drop	LOC	ground	broke-to-pieces	ASP
	That man dropped the watermelon on the ground, (and it) burst.									

No argument is expressed in the second clause - in Chinese (as in Tamang) topical arguments can be omitted through zero anaphora. The anaphoric reference of the gap in the second clause is not determined by syntax but by real world knowledge: if a man has dropped a watermelon, the melon is likely to burst and the man is likely to be unaffected. If we attempted the same in English - *the man dropped the melon and burst* - a syntactic process, coordinate reduction, which allows only the subject to be omitted through zero anaphora in a coordinated clause, forces the interpretation that the man burst after dropping the melon, even though (as LaPolla points out) this is nonsensical. In order to avoid this interpretation, in English we must give a new subject for the second clause: *the man dropped the melon and it burst* (or passivize the first clause so that the subject of the second clause is coreferential with the subject of the first: *the melon was dropped by the man and burst*).

The low referential density (see section 2.3) of Tamang (as well as other features such as variable word order) places a greater importance on verb frames and real world knowledge in Tamang discourse than in a language like English with compulsory expression of pronouns, and relatively fixed constituent order. However, although anaphoric coreference in, for instance, coordinated and converbial clauses is not determined by syntactic principles, there are also constructions in Tamang (for example complement clauses and relative clauses) where omission of one argument is compulsory and is determined by syntax. I will discuss the difference between these two types of coreference in chapter 7 on cross-clausal relations.

3. Grammatical overview

Tamang is a morphologically agglutinative language. Noun phrase constituents must be contiguous, however the language exhibits frequent scrambling of constituents (see Karimi 2003) at the clause level. It has tendencies to head-final order at both the phrase and the clause level. However, there are exceptions to this in the noun phrase (see section 3.2.2), and word order in a clause is determined by information structure rather than category or role (see section 3.5.1). The language is largely dependent-marking (see Nichols 1986), with no verb agreement. Relations between the predicate and arguments are indicated by case-marking morphemes on the relevant noun phrases, although some transitive clauses do not involve overt case-marking.[25] In these instances word order, information structure and real world knowledge contribute to the construal of roles (see sections 3.5 and 6.5). When case markers are used on arguments, they express primarily semantic information about the arguments and their relationship to the state of affairs expressed in the utterance (see section 6.1.2). Syntacticized case relations based on abstract generalized notions apply with some predicates, however the extent of their distribution varies across the verbal lexicon (see section 6.1.3). Some aspects of case-marking are also influenced by pragmatics (see section 6.3).

The number of overt case forms is small (see section 4.2), and the same forms which are used on direct arguments (defined as arguments subcategorized by a predicate which can, under the right circumstances, stand without any overt case-marking, see section 2.4) are also used on oblique arguments, complements and adjuncts. However, these forms (*=se* and *=ta*) can each be analysed as two homophonous cases (both ergative and ablative are represented by *=se*, and both patientive and dative are represented by *=ta*) based on differences in their uses on direct arguments (which varies with zero) and non-direct participants (which is invariable and compulsory) (see sections 4.4 and 4.5). A number of lexically-determined case-marking patterns can be found, some of which

[25] Though arguments which are not overtly marked can be analysed as standing in the absolutive case, represented by a zero morpheme (see section 4.3).

govern only one case, some of which govern a choice between two cases. Topical elements, including arguments, are frequently omitted in discourse; non-topical arguments can also be suppressed, which achieves a function similar to that of a passive in languages which have syntacticized grammatical relations (see section 6.3). A number of verbs display patterns of ambitransitivity (see section 6.4) which, combined with pervasive omission of arguments, creates some complications regarding the valency of some clauses (see sections 2.2 and 2.3).

Noun and verb lexemes can be distinguished on structural criteria: the former are free roots that can stand independently as words in their citation form, while the latter are bound roots and can only be used together with the inflectional morphemes which impart meanings such as tense, aspect, modality, evidentiality (henceforth TAME) and illocutionary force, as well as negation, nominalization etc. (see section 3.3.2). Nouns and verbs have for the most part mutually exclusive sets of inflectional morphology associated with them. For nouns, this involves suffixes marking categories such as plural number or membership of a group, and clitic case morphemes (see section 3.2.1); for verbs, it involves the set of verbal inflectional morphemes just mentioned. Both are open classes, and new nouns and verbs can be incorporated through derivation processes (eg. nominalization, light verb constructions) and loans.

While the criteria mentioned in the previous paragraph can distinguish between nominal and verbal roots, there are a number of points at which the boundary between words functioning as nouns and verbs is less clear. First, verb lexemes can be converted into forms which are syntactically more nominal with the nominalizing suffix *-pa*. The resulting nominalized verbal forms are used in a wide range of constructions, sometimes standing essentially as nouns (see sections 7.6.4 and 7.7.2), sometimes in auxiliary constructions which appear to have reached different stages of grammaticalization from copular constructions towards verbal constructions (see sections 3.3.7 and 3.5.4), and sometimes as main verbs (see section 3.5.3). Nominalized forms therefore represent a significant grey area between nouns and verbs. Secondly, a number of morphemes which encode

the information structure status of a lexeme in the wider discourse can occur immediately after both nominal and verbal stems (see section 3.5.2), which breaks down the strict separation between inflectional morphology associated with each of these.

A number of other lexical categories can also be distinguished, including pronouns, adverbs, demonstratives, question words, quantifiers etc. Adjectives are a somewhat problematic class in Tamang, firstly because they have a number of different sources (many emerging from a somewhat defective class of stative verbs), and secondly because there is little in their syntactic behaviour that neatly distinguishes them from nouns.

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce some of the fundamental features of Tamang grammar, including the basics of phonology; the main lexical categories, and morphology (except case morphemes, as these will be discussed in chapter 4), phrases and constructions associated with them; and the importance of information structure. The information provided in this chapter constitutes a basis for the discussion in later chapters, which will focus on grammatical relations. Although there is not enough space here to discuss all these topics fully, I hope to present enough information that will at least allow the reader to understand all the data and analysis included in examples throughout the thesis.

3.1 Phonology

This section - which is brief due to space constraints - outlines the prominent phonological characteristics of Tamang. The Tamang dialects which have been described to date show certain phonological characteristics in common such as very similar phonemic inventories, and a tonal system based on four lexical tones (see Mazaudon 1973). However there are some phonological variations between different dialects, largely concerned with phonotactics (see Mazaudon 1988) and varying realisations of the tones of cognate lexical items (see Mazaudon 2005). Section 3.1.1 considers the detailed work undertaken on the Risiangku dialect of Tamang, which constitutes the

most thorough research into the phonology of any dialect of the language to date. The Indrawati Khola dialect (under investigation in this thesis) displays some phonological differences from that of Risiangku. Section 3.1.2 examines these differences, and outlines the phonological characteristics specific to the Indrawati Khola dialect.

3.1.1 Tamang phonology

The most thorough account of Tamang phonology has been given by Mazaudon in her *Phonologie tamang* (1973), which is based on her research on the dialect spoken in Risiangku, Sindhupalchok District, and is further developed in a number of subsequent publications (Mazaudon 1978, 1985, 1988, 2005 *inter alia*). Mazaudon identifies five vowel phonemes, all of which have contrastive length, making a total of ten:

	Front (unrounded)	**Central** (unrounded)	**Back** (rounded)
High	i, iː		u, uː
Middle	e, eː		o, oː
Low		a, aː	

Table 3.1: Tamang vowel phonemes

She also identifies 17 consonant phonemes, which can be represented as in Table 3.2 (see also Mazaudon 2003a). She also notes (Mazaudon 2003a: 291) that the vowels /i/ and /u/ are pronounced as epenthetic glides [j] and [w] respectively if followed by other vowels.[26]

[26] Although [j] and [w] can be considered allophones of /i/ and /u/ respectively, I transcribe them as *y* and *w* respectively (see Transcripion and Glossing section).

	Labial	Dental	Affricate/ Sibilant/ Palatal	Trill	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
Aspirated stop	p^h	t^h	c^h (=ts^h)		$ʈ^h$	k^h	
Unaspirated stop	p	t	c (=ts)		ʈ	k	
Nasal	m	n				ŋ	
Continuant		l	s	r			h

Table 3.2: Tamang consonant phonemes

Mazaudon also proposes that Tamang has four lexical tones, the domain of which is the entire phonological word (defined as the lexical root plus affixes and clitics), not the syllable (Mazaudon 1973: 61). Tones are distinguished not by a hierarchy of cues, but by a combination of factors. Mazaudon and Michaud (2008: 252) summarize the characteristics of the lexical tones of the Risiangku variety dialect as follows:

> Tone 1 is the highest; it tends to be shorter, and is falling; it gives the perceptual impression of a short, "ballistic" tone. Tone 2 lacks any salient characteristic apart from being the second highest; it is not whispery. Voicing of the initial stop, when present, identifies with certainty a tone as being either 3 or 4. Tone 3 is whispery [ie. breathy] and rising, within an overall low register. Tone 4 is low, somewhat whispery, and its falling contour is somewhat "ballistic", though less so than tone 1.

Each phonological word carries one tone, which is determined by the first syllable (the 'tonic syllable'), and is realised across all the syllables of the word (for a detailed account see Mazaudon 1973: chapter 3). Therefore, within the phonological word heterotonic sequences are not attested. The post-tonic syllables of the word have more phonological and phonotactic restrictions than the tonic syllable: they cannot contain long vowels, and can only contain restricted set of consonant

clusters.[27] Syllable-initial stops in post-tonic syllables tend to be phonetically voiced, unless they geminate with an identical segment in the coda of the preceding syllable. For example, the phoneme /p/ in post-tonic syllable of *²sya-pa* (dance-NOMZ) 'to dance' is pronounced as [b] (and the whole word as ²[syaba]), while the same phoneme in *¹syap-pa* (seize-NOMZ) 'to seize' geminates with the /p/ in the coda of the root, entailing that the word is pronounced as ¹[syappa], or alternatively ¹[syap:a].

3.1.2 Phonology of the Indrawati Khola dialect

The Indrawati Khola dialect has the same phonemic inventory as the Risiangku dialect, and it also exhibits the system of four lexical tones whose domain is the phonological word (which, as mentioned in earlier, is common to all dialects of Tamang). However, it differs somewhat from the Risiangku dialect in terms of phonotactics, and in the phonetic characteristics of each tone.

Mazaudon (2007) has proposed that the easterly dialects of Tamang are phonologically the most conservative, with a general tendency to simplification of syllable structure, especially of codas, in the more westerly dialects. The dialect of Indrawati Khola represents an interesting profile, as consonant codas are retained while certain onsets are simplified. This can be seen from a comparison of some lexical items from the Indrawati Khola dialect with the cognate forms in the Risiangku and Barkhu dialects.[28]

[27] These rules do not always apply to words which are etymologically compounds or reduplicated words, or to unassimilated loanwords.

[28] The Risiangku data is from Mazaudon (in preparation), while the Lekharka and Barkhu data are from my own field research.

English	Risiangku	Barkhu	Lekharka
ant	*[3]nakhru*	*[2]nɑkhru*	*[2]na:hu*
bite	*[1]khrap*	*[1]khrep*	*[1]hap*
bull	*[4]klap*	*[4]klap*	*[4]lap*
cloth	*[1]kwan*	*[[4]kwela]*	*[1]wan*
eight	*[4]prat*	*[4]prɛ:*	*[4]prat*
kill	*[1]sat*	*[1]se:*	*[1]sat*
laugh	*[2]net*	*[2]ne:*	*[2]ŋyet*
louse	*[2]syat*	*[2]sye:*	*[2]syat*
place	*[4]kla*	*[4]kla*	*[4]la*
play	*[1]klaŋ*	*[1]klaŋ*	*[1]laŋ*
seven	*[2]nis*	*[2]nyi:*	*[2]ŋyis*
shit	*[1]kli*	*[1]kli*	*[1]li*
shout	*[1]kriŋ*	*[1]kriŋ*	*[1]riŋ*
snow	*[4]kliŋ*	*[4]kliŋ*	*[4]liŋ*
vomit	*[2]rut*	*[2]rwi*	*[2]rut*
water	*[2]kyui*	*[2]kwi*	*[2]ki*
weep	*[1]kra:*	*[1]kra:*	*[1]ha:*
wheat	*[4]kwa*	*[4]kwa*	*[4]wa*
work	*[4]kyat*	*[4]ke:*	*[4]kyat*

Table 3.3: Sound correspondences in Tamang dialects

Certain phonotactic patterns appear to be specific to the Indrawati Khola dialect. The most prominent of these are that in post-tonic syllables, a syllable-initial bilabial stop /p/ assimilates to a dental stop /t/ following a dental coda in the preceding syllable. This entails that the widely used nominalizer suffix *-pa* (see section 3.3.2) has an allomorph *-ta* which occurs after verbal stems ending in dentals. The vowel phoneme /a/ is realized lower, closer to [ɑ] either following or preceding labial consonants: this realization only occurs in this environment, and is merely an allophone rather than a phoneme. One feature of the dialect of Indrawati Khola which does raise a potential problem for the analysis of the phonological word (ie. root plus affixes/clitics) as the tone-bearing unit is that it appears that certain information structure markers bear their own tone (see section 3.5.2). By the definition above this would indicate that they would constitute a distinct word,

however this is problematic as they are phonologically bound to the word which they follow. The same issue arises with the negative and prohibitive prefixes (*[3]a-* and *[2]tha-*, see section 3.3.2), which likewise bear their own tone but are bound morphemes. Unfortunately there will not be enough space to address this issue in detail.

As mentioned above, the lexical tones in the Indrawati Khola dialect also differ from those of Risiangku. I have not been able to investigate the phonetic properties of the tones in as much detail as would be ideal, however I had a chance to conduct a preliminary phonetic study of the tones, working with Amos Teo (University of Oregon). This initial study indicated that breathiness is not a highly salient quality of any tones in this dialect. The tones can briefly and somewhat impressionistically be characterized as follows. In this dialect too, Tone 1 is the highest, however it is does not involve a saliently falling pitch contour and is reasonably level. Tone 2 is also level, and is articulated at a lower pitch than Tone 1. Tone 3 is also level and is articulated at a lower pitch still; furthermore it conditions voicing of initial stops, as in the Risiangku dialect. Tone 4 begins at a higher pitch than Tone 3, however falls to a pitch which is lower than Tone 3; it does not involve voicing of stops, but does appear to involve a certain element of breathiness.

It is worth noting that that Tamangic tone systems appear to be somewhat unstable and prone to radical reanalysis even over a short time period (see Mazaudon 1978: 170; Hildebrandt 2004: 31). As mentioned in the introductory section on Transcription and Glossing, recent Nepali loanwords (which are not considered to be tonal) retain their phonological character from Nepali, while long-standing loans appear to have been assimilated to Tamang phonology, including the tone system. However, the boundary between assimilated and unassimilated loanwords will remain impressionistic until more is known about code switching between the two languages. For more detailed discussions of the phonological incorporation of loanwords into the Risiangku dialect of Tamang (which is also generally relevant for this dialect), see Mazaudon (1973: 42-3, 71, 84, 122-3).

3.2 Nominals and the noun phrase

A noun phrase (NP) can consist either of a single, unmodified noun lexeme, or it can consist of one or more nouns which may be modified by various elements. Whatever the degree of internal complexity in a noun phrase, its elements are all contiguous, and it forms a constituent at the clause level. Relations beween noun phrases and the predicate are indicated by case-marking clitic forms, which attach to the end of the noun phrase (these will be introduced in this section but discussed in more detail in chapter 4). Noonan (2008a) notes that case-marking by phrase-final clitics is common in Bodic languages (see section 1.2). Case markers are used only once for each noun phrase, and modifiers do not display concord for case with the head noun as they do in, for instance, Latin and Ancient Greek (Blake 2004: 7). The fact that the case markers attach to the final element of a noun phrase, even if this is not the head noun, supports the analysis that they are clitics rather than suffixes. However, in this dialect of Tamang there are some tendencies towards fusion of case markers with some pronouns and a limited number of nouns (see section 3.2.3). Noun phrases are also frequently marked by one of the set of morphemes which indicate their information structure status (see section 3.5.2).

Although all elements of a noun phrase are adjacent, and the noun is usually the final element of the NP (reflecting Tamang's head-final tendencies), certain elements (numerals and some modifiers) can occur after the noun, and if they do so are immediately followed by the phrase-final case clitic. Elements which modify a noun also appear highly nominal in their own right: numerals and demonstratives can directly take case markers, and adjectives and relativized participants can take case markers and plural/collective morphology. The internal structure of the noun phrase will be discussed in more detail in section 3.2.2.

3.2.1 Nominal inflectional morphology

The majority of nouns in Tamang consist of either one or two syllables. Native trisyllabic or longer nouns are rare (although they are more common amongst loanwords). As Mazaudon points out (1973: 51-2), it is likely that many of the currently bisyllabic noun lexemes developed from compounds or older monosyllabic lexemes plus other elements such as nominalizers. Compounding is an important and productive process in Tamang noun morphology, though unfortunately there is not enough space to discuss it in detail here.

Nominal forms can also be derived from clauses by attaching the nominalizer suffix *-pa* to the predicate of the clause. There are two kinds of clausal nominal: those with a gapped element (relative clauses, see sections 7.7.1 and 7.7.2) and those without a gapped element (action nominalizations, see section 7.6.4). The former can stand either as an adnominal modifier to a (relativized) participant of the higher clause or as a full nominal participant, while the latter are always full nominals. If standing as full nominals, both of these clausal nouns take nominal morphology such as case or information structure markers.

Nominal morphology is generally agglutinative (although there are limited tendencies to fusion, see section 3.2.3), and the noun can be followed by a number of inflectional morphemes which mark number or group status, case and information structure. All of these are bound to the final lexical element of the noun phrase, and all can only be used once per noun phrase. These qualities distinguish them from lexical elements of a noun phrase, which can stand as independent words and are not (at least in theory) limited in the number that can be used.

The inflectional possibilities for a noun phrase (ie. material following the final element) can be represented as follows:

NOUN PHRASE	= (Info structure)	= Case	= (Info structure)	= (Info structure)
	$=^{4}ca$ (CTOP)	$=Ø$ (ABS)	$=^{1}e$ (only)	$=m$ (TOP)
		$=se$ (ERG, ABL)		$=no$ (FOC)
		$=ta$ (PAT, DAT)		
		$=i$ (LOC)		

All participants (ie. arguments, complements and adjuncts) can be considered to have a case status, and those which have no overt case-marking can be analysed as absolutive (represented by a zero morpheme, $=Ø$). Information structure markers on the other hand are not compulsory. As clitics, case and information structure morphemes cannot stand as independent words. However, it appears that some of the information structure markers carry their own tone - a property which Mazaudon (1973) proposes is diagnostic of a phonological word in Tamang. The lexical status of some information structure markers - particularly constrastive topic marker $=^{4}ca$ which comes before case-marking - is therefore slightly complex. The use and meanings of case morphemes will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4, and information structure morphemes in section 3.5.2. For many examples of inflected noun phrases in discourse, see the Appendix.

Plural number (*-pakal*, indicating a group of identical entities) or collective/group status (*-cyappa/-cya*, indicating a 'set of related items' - see Watters 2002 for discussion of a similar marker in Kham) would usually be marked on the head noun even if it is not the final element of the phrase, although modifiers can also take these morphemes if they stand as nominals rather than adnominals (see section 3.2.2). It is worth noting that plural marking is not compulsory, and nouns which are not marked with *-pakal* (or *-cyappa*) can be understood as plural according to context. Similar phenomena are attested in many other Tibeto-Burman languages of the region, although the criteria which influence number marking appear to differ from language to language. For instance in Newar only animate nouns are ever marked for plural (Hale and Shrestha 2006: 78), while in Kyirong Tibetan, only definite referents are marked for plural (Huber 2005: 57-8), which of course

excludes many non-animate referents (which tend not to be definite) from plural marking, although Huber does not say that this is impossible (see also Plaisier 2007: 54-60 and Borchers 2008: 51-2 for discussion of similar systems in Lepcha and Sunwar). The phenomenon is also observed in Nepali (see Driem 2001: 643-4 for an involved discussion of the semantics of number marking in Nepali). The various systems mentioned here appear to differ in some respects, however they all share the fact that countable nouns which are not overtly marked as plural can be understood as plural. In Tamang, there is no restriction of the plural marker to animate referents, as plurals such as *[4]toŋpo-pakal* 'trees' or *[4]tim-pakal* 'houses' are fairly commonplace. Plurality, which is inferred to some extent from discourse context, also interacts with case-marking patterns in some instances (see section 6.1.2).

3.2.2 The noun phrase

The full extent of what might be possible in a potential noun phrase is as follows, although in practice no noun phrase in actual speech would ever contain all these elements:

(Juxtaposed or coordinated noun phrase)	(Rel)	(Poss)	(Dem)/ (Quant)	(Adj*)	NOUN	(Adj)	(Num)

Numerals, and modifiers such as adjectives or 'headless' relative clauses (see section 7.7.2), can also stand as head nouns of a noun phrase. The various potential components of a noun phrase are as follows:

Juxtaposed or coordinated noun phrase: Nouns and noun phrases can be coordinated in Tamang either by direct juxtaposition, for example *[1]ŋyine [4]ci [2]airak=Ø [2]thuŋ-ci* (we.EXCL.ERG beer liquor=ABS drink-PFV) 'we drank beer and liquor'; or with the comitative case marker *=then* (see section 4.7), for example *[1]ʈasi=then [2]pasaŋ=Ø [1]yampu=i [1]ni-ci* (Tasi=COM Pasang=ABS

Kathmandu = LOC go-PFV) 'Tasi and Pasang went to Kathmandu'. The former strategy is more likely for inanimate objects and the latter for humans.

Possessive: If both the possessor and possessed item are overtly expressed, Tamang marks the possessor rather than the possessed item, and the possessive phrase regularly occurs in pre-nominal position, for example *[1]pema = ki [1]ama* (Pema = GEN mother) 'Pema's mother', *[4]kyu = ki [1]pe* (sheep = GEN fur) 'sheep's wool'. However, if one uses rank-shifting genitive marking *= kila* on the possessor, its reference shifts to the possessed item, and the possessor (although the lexical base of the resulting form) ceases to exist as a concrete element. I will discuss the genitive case in more detail in section 4.8.

Demonstratives and quantifiers: A noun can only be modified by a demonstrative or a quantifier, not both. Both appear in pre-nominal position. They will be discussed in more detail in sections 3.4.2 and 3.4.6 respectively.

Pre-nominal adjectives (and relative modifiers): The majority of adjectives occur in pre-nominal position. For the present purposes, I include relative clauses, which are formed from nominalized verbs, in this category, as they function as modifiers in the same way as adjectives, and there do not seem to be strict rules determining the order of relative clauses and other pre-nominal adjectives (in fact, many adjectives are nominalized forms of stative verbs, therefore structurally identical to relative clauses). In theory any number of adjectives could occur in the pre-nominal position, though in reality there are unlikely to be more than one, or at most two.

Post-nominal adjectives: Two adjectives of proportion, *[4]hen* 'big' and *[3]cat* 'small' regularly occur after the head noun of the phrase. They can however occur in pre-nominal position, particular if they are themselves modified, for example: *[1]niki [4]hen [4]ki = Ø [1]kha-ci* (dog big one = ABS come-PFV) 'a big dog came', versus *[2]mahin [4]hen [1]niki [4]ki = Ø [1]kha-ci* (very big dog one = ABS come-PFV) 'a

very big dog came'. The post-nominal position of *[4]hen* and *[3]cat*, in which they can receive the inflectional marking of the whole phrase, means that they appear particularly noun-like amongst the adjective class. I will discuss adjectives in more detail in section 3.2.5.

Numerals: If a numeral occurs, it will be the last element of the noun phrase. Numerals can co-occur with demonstratives (eg. *[1]kyacu [3]mi [4]som* (that person three) 'those three men') but they cannot co-occur with quantifiers. For numbers up to ten, native Tamang numerals are generally used. Above ten, and for certain expressions such as money and time, many speakers would use Nepali numerals.

Some examples of complex noun phrases are as follows:

3.1 *maya = then* *[2]a = ki* *[1]cyaŋpa* *[2]cyun = Ø* *[4]pu = i* *[1]ni-ci*
Maya = COM you = GEN youngest little.sis = ABS ricefield = LOC go-PFV
Maya and your youngest sister went to the ricefield.

3.2 *[2]ucu* *[2]tar* *[1]ne:me* *[4]hen = Ø* *[1]mraŋ-ci?*
that white bird big = ABS see-PFV?
Did [you] see that big white bird?

3.3 *[3]cakki-te* *[2]airak = Ø* *[3]po* *[1]le*
a.little-APRX liquor = ABS bring.HORT PART
Please give [me] a bit of liquor.

3.2.3 Morphological irregularities of nouns

Tamang's morphology is generally agglutinative and regular. However there is a small group of nouns (as well as demonstratives and some pronouns) which have a reduced root which is used instead of the simple root before case morphemes. These only occur when the noun is followed

directly by a case marker: if another morpheme such as the plural or collective marker, or the information structure marker *=⁴ca* stands between the noun and the case marker, the full form of the noun is used.

The variation is purely phonologically determined: it only affects nouns (and demonstratives and pronouns) whose final syllable begins with /c/, /n/ or /l/, and then only before inflectional suffixes which begin with vowels. In these contexts, the vowel of the final syllable is elided, and the /c/ onset of a final syllable (which is phonetically realised as [ts] or [dz] under most circumstances) is simplified to /t/. Here are some examples of nouns, demonstratives and pronouns with simple and reduced roots:

²cyocyo 'big brother': *²cyot=ta* (big.bro=DAT), *²cyot=ki* (big.bro=GEN)

²kyacu 'that': *²kyat=se* (that=ERG), *²kyat=ta* (that=DAT), *²kyat=ki* (that=GEN)

¹ŋyina 'we' (exclusive): *¹ŋyin=ta* (we.EXCL=DAT)

²khala 'who': *²khal=ta* (who=DAT), *²khal=ki* (who=GEN)

For example:

3.4	*²cyot=ta*	*⁴ci=Ø*	*¹pin-o*
	big.bro=DAT	beer=ABS	give-HORT
	Give big brother some beer!		

There are also limited developments towards fusional case-marking in this dialect of Tamang, which is restricted to the ergative and ablative cases (*=se*) on nouns, and the ergative, ablative and genitive case (*=ki*) on pronouns. The full form of the ergative and ablative cases is *=se*, although on certain nouns ending in vowels, this loses its initial /s/ and combines with the final syllable to produce a fusional form. It appears that for certain nouns with animate reference, and other high

frequency nouns which tend to be arguments/agents (hence ergative), the fusional case-marking is compulsory, whereas for nouns with inanimate reference, which tend to be adjuncts/instruments (ie. ablative), either the full form or the fusional form is acceptable. For example:

Arguments (ergative):

²cyocyo > ²cyoce (big.bro.ERG), *¹papa > ¹pape* (father.ERG), *¹ama > ¹ame* (mother.ERG), *²khala > ²khale* (who.ERG)

Adjuncts (ablative):

²yuŋpu > ²yuŋpe/²yuŋpu = se (stone.ABL/stone = ABL) 'with a stone', *¹lepha > ¹lephe/¹lepha = se* (kick.ABL/kick = ABL) 'with a kick'

For example:

3.5	*²cyoce*	*¹ŋa = ta*	*¹lephe*	*²puŋ-ci*
	big.bro.ERG	I = PAT	kick.ABL	strike-PFV
	Big brother kicked me!			

Fusional case is more developed on pronouns, which is not surprising, as these are among the commonest nominal forms in the language, and the high frequency of their use with case morphemes would make them the likeliest candidates to participate in the fusion process.

3.2.4 Personal pronouns

Tamang pronouns distinguish three persons, singular and plural number, and an inclusive and exclusive contrast (regarding the addressee) in the first person plural.[29] There are no gender

[29] Such a distinction is found in many Tibeto-Burman languages of the region, for instance Gurung (see Glover 1974: 124), Dolakha Newar (see Genetti 1990: 88-9), and Limbu (see Driem 1987: 25-6), all of which belong to different subgroups.

distinctions. It is very common to mark dual number on pronouns with the suffix *-ni* (transparently derived from the numeral *[4]ni:* 'two'), although its use is not compulsory. The personal pronouns in the Indrawati Khola dialect[30] are:

	Singular	Plural	(Dual)
1st Person	*[1]ŋa*	*[1]ŋyina*	*[1]ŋyin(a)-ni*
1P + 2P	-	*[1]ŋyana*	*[1]ŋyan(a)-ni*
2nd Person	*[2]e:* (+ *[3]raŋ*)	*[2]ana/[2]ena*	*[2]an(a)-ni/[2]en(a)-ni*
3rd Person	*[1]the* (+ demonstratives, *[3]ro*)	*[1]thena*	*[1]then(a)-ni*

Table 3.4: Citation forms of personal pronouns in Indrawati Khola Tamang

Most of the plural forms are the same as the singular, with the pluralizing morpheme *-na*, which can only be used for pronominal forms and kinship terms. The 1st person plurals are more complex: 1P + 2P *[1]ŋyana* is the 'inclusive' 1st person plural, while the 'exclusive' 1st person plural is *[1]ŋyina.* To these forms can also be added the suffix *-cya*, which appears to have a collective meaning similar that of *-cyappa* (see section 3.2.1). As mentioned above, the dual forms are not fully grammaticalized, but if the speaker wishes to emphasize dual number, he/she can add *-ni* to the plural pronoun (in fast speech this elides the final /a/ of *-na* and makes a geminate consonant /nn/).

A number of other forms are used with pronominal reference. For 3rd person reference, demonstratives (see section 3.4.2) are very frequently used instead of *[1]the*. The word *[3]ro* 'friend' is also used so frequently for human 3rd person referents that it appears well on the way to being lexicalized as a pronoun. The status of demonstratives and *[3]ro* as pronouns is demonstrated by the fact that they can take inflectional morphology (above all, plural *-na*) which is only used for pronouns and kinship terms, and not other nouns. When *[3]ro* is used with its lexical meaning it takes the plural marker *-pakal*. There are two more forms which are used for polite address in the 2nd person. These are *[3]raŋ* 'self', which is used with 2nd person reference for people to whom the

[30] Other dialects have somewhat different forms, especially in the plural (see eg. Mazaudon 2003a, Taylor 1973).

speaker wishes to accord high status (such as elders, people of status in the community, and guests). To show respect when addressing groups of people, the speaker can use the word *[1]phepe*, which literally means 'person, individual', but when used after the second person plural *[2]ana [1]phepe-cya* is a polite way of addressing a group. Kinship terms are frequently used to address and refer to relatives, non-related friends and acquaintances, and strangers; and are often used in preference to names.

Despite Tamang's generally agglutinative character, the Indrawati Khola dialect is notable for having a large number of fusional forms for inflected pronouns, particularly for the ergative/ablative and genitive cases. The full paradigm is as follows. The inflections which follow the typical agglutinative pattern are in plain font, and separate the discernible clitic morphemes. The pronouns marked in bold are those that follow a fusional pattern.

		Absolutive: *=Ø*	Ergative/ablative: *=se*	Patientive/dative: *=ta*	Genitive: *=ki*
Sin.	1st person	*[1]ŋa*	***[1]ŋye***	*[1]ŋa=ta*	***[1]ŋyi***
	2nd person[31]	*[2]e:*	*[2]a=se/[2]e=se*	*[2]a=ta/[2]e=ta*	*[2]a=ki/[2]e=ki*
	3rd person	*[1]the*	*[1]the=se*	*[1]the=ta*	*[1]the=ki*
Plur.	1st person	*[1]ŋyina*	***[1]ŋyine***	*[1]ŋyin=ta*	***[1]ŋyini***
	1P+2P	*[1]ŋyana*	***[1]ŋyane***	*[1]ŋyan=ta*	***[1]ŋyani***
	2nd person	*[2]ana/[2]ena*	***[2]ane/[2]ene***	*[2]an=ta/[2]en=ta*	***[2]ani/[2]eni***
	3rd person	*[1]thena*	***[1]thene***	*[1]then=ta*	***[1]theni***

Table 3.5: Full paradigms of personal pronouns in Indrawati Khola Tamang

Fusional case forms cannot be used for pronouns which are marked with the contrastive topic marker *=[4]ca*, as this morpheme precedes the case marker, for example *[1]ŋa=[4]ca=se*

[31] The variation between forms beginning with *[2]a* and *[2]e* in the 2nd person forms is probably due to the fact that the singular form *[2]e:* has probably developed from an earlier diphthong form **[2]ai*, which is retained in some phonologically more conservative dialects (see Mazaudon 2003a), to a monophthong vowel in unchecked contexts. Although forms in *[2]a* are more common, forms in *[2]e* do not appear to have a significantly different meaning.

(I = CTOP = ERG), *[1]the = [4]ca = ta* (he = CTOP = DAT), *[1]ŋyin = [4]ca = se* (we.EXCL = CTOP = ERG) etc.

3.2.5 Adjectives

Adjectives are a somewhat problematic class in Tamang, firstly because they do not have a discrete form distinguishing them as a group and secondly, as mentioned earlier, apart from their role in modifying nouns, they can also behave as nominals in their own right. This is supported by the fact that they can take all inflectional morphemes used on nominal lexemes: plurals/collectives, information structure markers and case markers. Some modifiers in particular are very similar to nouns, for instance *[3]cat* which has developed from 'small' also to mean 'child'.

3.6 *[1]phyukpa-pakal = se* *[2]tai = Ø* *[3]seː-pa?*
rich-PL = ERG what = ABS know-NOMZ?
What do the rich know?

3.7 *[2]tar = [4]ca = ta* *[2]tha-[1]pin-o*
white = CTOP = DAT PROH-give-HORT
Don't give (any) to the white (one).

There are several sources of modifiers in Tamang:

i) Those which cannot be derived from any other class. These include proportions, colours and certain other words for physical description, eg. *[2]wala* 'red', *[2]char* 'new', *[1]chiŋ* 'raw' etc. Some members of this class appear to have developed from a base form together with various nominal suffixes which are not productive in the contemporary language. These are generally disyllabic, for example *[1]piŋke* 'blue/green', *[2]rake* 'brown', *[2]mirke* 'multi-coloured', *[2]ʈhuʈʈe* 'short', *[1]pokʈe* 'thin', *[1]riltu* 'round', *[1]pliŋmo* 'full' etc.

ii) Those which end in the nominalizer suffix *-pa* and are transparently derived from verbs. There is a class of adjectival/descriptive stative verbs, which display varying stages of lexicalization towards adjectives. These include very common adjectives such as *[3]cyapa* 'good' and *[3]koppa* 'bad'.

iii) Those belonging to a class of words which is based on a reduplicated descriptive root, which does not appear able to stand independently, but only when followed either by the nominalizer suffix *-pa* or the manner adverbialiser *-le*. Examples include *[2]yaŋ[2]yaŋpa* 'bright' and *[3]tel[3]telpa* 'muddy'.

As mentioned in the previous section, relative clauses also behave similarly to adjectives and there is in fact nothing which formally separates a relativized stative intransitive verb (eg. *[3]mer-pa [3]mi* 'sleeping man') from a more typically adjectival verb (eg. *[3]cya-pa [3]mi* 'good man'). Relativization of transitive and ditransitive verbs is more complex and will be discussed in more detail in section 7.7.

3.3 Verbs and verbal constructions

In the Tibeto-Burman context, Tamang's verbal morphology can be considered relatively simple as it exhibits neither person agreement as found in languages such as Kham (Watters 2002), Chepang (Caughley 1982), Thangmi (Turin 2012), Limbu (van Driem 1987), Yakkha (Schackow 2014) and other Kiranti languages, nor verb classes based on inflectional paradigms as found in, for instance, Old Tibetan (see Hill 2010). However, modal and evidential categories are richly developed, with many compulsory distinctions through overt morphological marking, and these categories have implications for the parameter of person in propositions, as certain evidential and modal forms can only be used with reference to certain persons. In this regard, Tamang's profile has similarities with (Modern) Tibetan (see Tournadre and Dorje 2003), and the form of Newar spoken in the Kathmandu Valley (see Hale 1980). DeLancey (2014) refers to this latter profile as the 'creoloid' type, which is characterized by a lack of argument marking on the verb, but elaborated development of analytical

and transparent structures involving serial verbs and auxiliary constructions, and marking of clausal relations by case on arguments.

Tamang verbal lexemes are usually monosyllabic, however a number are complex predicates, involving a light verb (most often *[1]la* 'do' or *[1]ta* 'become') root plus a noun, adjective or adverbial term. Tamang also has a strategy for adopting verbal lexemes from Nepali, involving the first syllable of the relevant Nepali verb followed by an inflectable Tamang verbal root *[1]ti*. For example, Nepali *paḍ* 'read, study' > Tamang *paḍ [1]ti* 'read, study', Nepali *lāg* 'take, apply' > Tamang *lag [1]ti* 'take, apply'. Verbal loans on this pattern appear structurally similar to light verb constructions, as the borrowed Nepali lexical material is not verbal in Tamang, but has a similar relationship to the inflectable root *[1]ti* as the non-verbal element of light verb constructions described above. For example:

3.8 *[1]ti [2]re* *lag [1]ti-pa*
one.day take-NOMZ
[It] takes one day (to get there).

Most grammatical sentences require an inflected verb.[32] The verbal morphology is agglutinative and generally suffixing, except for negative and prohibitive morphemes which precede the stem of the inflected verb (whether this is the predicate, or a modal or causative). Information structure particles and attitude particles can also play a role in the verb complex: the former are generally embedded in the complex (see section 3.5.2) while the latter occur at the end of a sentence and have scope over the whole sentence (see section 3.5.5).

[32] Exceptions to this rule are equative clauses which sometimes use a juxtaposition strategy, and certain pragmatically marked utterances such as bare content questions, answers to such questions, exclamations etc.

Predicates make important semantic and syntactic specifications regarding the way they are used in a clause, for instance with regard to their valency (see section 2.2), patterns of ambitransivity (see section 2.3), government of invariable or variable case patterns (see section 2.4), semantic selection of their participants (see section 2.5), and inherent aspect, or alternatively *Aktionsart*. Verbal lexemes can be analysed in terms of classes, based upon these various specifications. For instance, intransitive predicates can be divided into four classes based on their case-marking specifications for their participants (see section 5.2.1); inverse predicates can be considered a class upon the same basis (see section 5.3.3); patient-preserving labile verbs form a class (see section 6.4); so do verbs which refer to states rather than actions or events. Membership of each class is an independent variable related to a verb's lexical semantics, and each verbal lexeme may have a unique profile as to how it is used in the language. However it is evident that there are some correlations between membership of various classes: for instance, verbs in the class of intransitives which allow variable absolutive and ergative marking on their S argument tend to subcategorize for a human argument; and many patient-preserving labile verbs are achievements in terms of their lexical aspect according to Vendler's (1957) classification, indicating that their state of affairs is telic and momentary, and involves a change of state. That said, it has not possible at this stage to work out clear and exhaustive correlations of membership across all the different types of class.

Tamang generally prefers to subordinate rather than coordinate clauses, and there are many types of dependent clausal structures (which I will discuss in detail in chapter 7), many of which involve nominalized verbal forms which are created with the nominalizer *-pa*.[33] However there do not appear to be mutually exclusive sets of 'finite' and 'non-finite' verbal morphemes. Without these, drawing a clear formal boundary between main and dependent clauses presents some challenges. As a working solution to this complex problem, I take 'main clauses' to be those which are articulated as free-standing utterances where it also appears unlikely that any higher clause has been omitted

[33] As mentioned in section 3.2.1, verbal lexemes suffixed with *-pa* can also stand as nouns (ie. they can take nominal morphology such as case and plural/collective markers).

through ellipsis (see Evans 2007), and main clause verbal inflections to be those which typically attach to the predicate of such clauses. I take 'dependent clauses' as those which are structurally subordinate in some way to another clause, and dependent clause verbal morphology to be that which is typically used in such clauses. However, in Tamang these categories need to be understood as overlapping rather than mutually exclusive.

3.3.1 Types of verbal construction

Discourse in Tamang, as in any language, comprises different types of utterances. Some of these - such as exclamations, focal questions involving just a question word such as 'who?', 'what?' and single-word answers to these - do not contain a predicate, and therefore cannot be described as clauses. Main clauses (defined, as in section 3.3, as clauses which can stand as independent utterances without probable ellipsis) can be divided into those with non-verbal and those with verbal predicates. The former include copular constructions and noun phrase juxtaposition (discussed in section 5.1), while the latter involve at the very least an inflected verbal construction. At its simplest this can be one inflected verbal lexeme. But it can also be a more complicated structure such as a complex predicate with a light verb plus a non-verbal element, or an auxiliary, modal or serial verb construction involving a non-finite form of the predicate plus an inflected verb. A non-verbal complex predicate involves only one verbal stem, while auxiliary, modal and serial constructions each involve two verbal stems: the predicate, although subordinate in some way (either in a non-finite inflection or simply a stem) is the semantic head of the construction, while the inflected auxiliary, modal or serial verb constitutes the syntactic head.

The primary division between the different types of inflection for main clause verbal predicates is illocutionary force, and there are separate sets of inflectional mophemes for hortative/optative clauses on the one hand, and declarative/interrogative/negative clauses on the other. Dependent clauses do not have their own illocutionary force, and are subsumed in the illocutionary force of the main clause which they are dependent on. Declarative, interrogative and negative clauses are divided

at the highest level not by factors which are traditionally considered to be instantiated in finite verbs such as tense, aspect etc. but by principles of discourse flow and information structure: on the one hand are utterances where the predicate is part of the comment of the clause (ie. is not topical - see section 3.5), which inflect for tense, aspect, modality and evidentiality (TAME), and on the other are utterances where the state of affairs expressed in the predicate is highly presupposed or topical, and is expressed with a nominalized (ie. ostensibly non-finite) form. I refer to the former as 'foregrounded' verbs and the latter as 'backgrounded'. Nominalized forms as main verbs appear to be unspecified with regard to tense and aspect, which are interpreted according to the discourse context and the lexical semantics of the predicate (see section 3.5.3 for further discussion).[34]

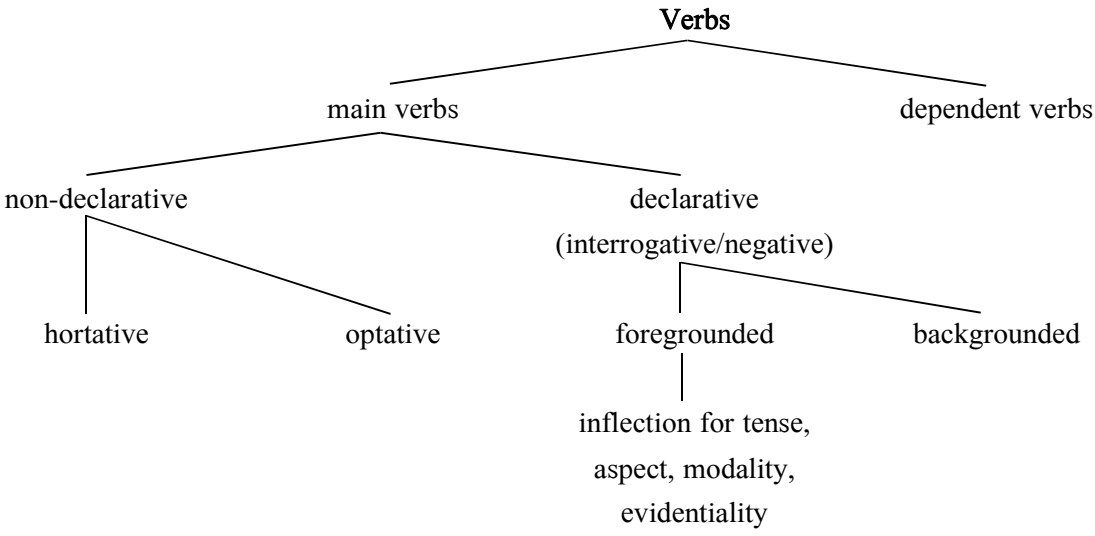

Table 3.6: Types of verbal construction

Although they are used as main verbs, the primary use of nominalized forms is in dependent causes and auxiliary constructions. Certain other forms which are most typically used in dependent clauses - eg. inceptive participle *-te/-i*, sequential *-si*, conditional *-(y)e(m)* - can also stand as the predicate of a main clause.

[34] The perfect nominalized form in *-pakila* is also used in main clauses explicitly to indicate anterior action. However, this form is not in equipollent opposition to the simple nominalized form which can also be interpreted as referring to anterior action. Rather it provides more specific aspectual information. See section 3.5.3 for further discussion.

Auxiliary constructions play an important role in Tamang grammar and occur frequently in discourse, as imperfective propositions with past and present time reference are expressed only by auxiliary constuctions (see sections 3.3.7.2 and 3.3.7.3) rather than by simple inflected verbs (unless they are backgrounded, in which case they are expressed by a simple nominalized form - see section 3.5.3). In auxiliary constructions, the predicate is nominalized and the auxiliary inflected for TAME, although as mentioned above complications in this analysis arise from the fact that both of the ostensibly non-finite morphemes (*-pa* and *-te/-i*) which are used with the predicate in such constructions can also be used as simple verb inflections (see sections 3.5.3 and 3.3.8.4), raising the question of whether nominalized forms are actually non-finite, or more broadly whether finite and non-finite clauses can be formally distinguished in Tamang.

Modal and serial verb constructions are generally formed from the bare predicate root (although sometimes the root is nominalized) followed by an inflected verb which provides either modal information, or information about the manner of an action (which may be aspectual). Serial constructions formed of the root of the predicate and an inflected form of a closed set of serial verbs are considered an areal feature of South Asia (see Masica 1976: chapter 5), and are found in Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi and Nepali, as well as languages of the Tibetan Plateau such as Tibetan (Tournadre 2003:179). Serial and modal constructions can be distinguished by the fact that modal constructions can be used in negative and interrogative clauses (see example 3.15 below), whereas serial verbs cannot (the simple inflectional form is used instead). The same pattern of a verb root followed by an inflected verb is also used for one of the two causative constructions (see section 5.5). Modal and serial constructions are distinguished from complement constructions by the fact that they govern only one set of arguments rather than two sets (see sections 7.6 and 7.6.2). Examples of the types of verbal construction which can occur in a main clause are as follows:

Simple inflected verb:

3.9 *[2]a = ki* *[2]nana = Ø* *[2]khanto* ***[1]ni-ci***

you = GEN big.sister = ABS where **go-PFV**

Where did your sister go?

3.10 *[1]mriŋkola-cya = ki* *piʈai = Ø* ***[1]ca-la***

girl-COLL = GEN beating = ABS **eat-FUT**

[You]'ll get a beating from the girls. ['[You] will eat the girls' beating.']

Complex predicate (non-verbal element plus inflected verb[35]):

3.11 *[1]ʈasi = then* ***[4]cyap*** ***[1]ta-ci?***

Tasi = COM **together** **become-PFV?**

Did [you] meet Tasi?

3.12 *[1]ŋye* ***[1]pe:ru*** ***[1]la-ci***

I.ERG **horizontal** **do-PFV**

I laid [it] flat.

[35] In this thesis, I distinguish examples of complex predicates from absolutive arguments which are not overtly marked for case by the fact that in glossing absolutive arguments are always marked with a zero morpheme (= Ø) while the non-verbal element of a complex predicate is not marked for any case.

Auxiliary construction (formed with a nominalized predicate plus inflected auxiliary):

3.13 *[1]ŋyina = Ø* *[1]kan = Ø* ***[1]ca-pano*** ***[1]mula***

we.EXCL = ABS rice = ABS **eat-PROG** **COPA.NPST**

We are eating.

3.14 *[2]ucu* *[1]mriŋkola* *[4]ki: = ta* *[1]ŋye* ***[3]ŋo:-pa*** ***[1]mupa***

that girl one = PAT I.ERG **tease-NOMZ** **COPA.PST**

I teased that one girl.

Modal construction (formed from stem of predicate plus inflected modal verb):

3.15 - *[3]taŋke* ***[1]ni*** ***[1]to:-la*** - ***[1]ni*** ***[3]a-[1]to:***

- now **go** **be.necessary-FUT** **- go** **NEG-be.necessary**

Perhaps [we] should go now. - [We] don't need to go!

3.16 *[2]ŋyine = m* *[2]tai = Ø = no* ***[2]paŋ*** ***[3]a-[1]kham-pa***

we.EXCL.ERG = TOP what = ABS = FOC **say** **NEG-be.able-NOMZ**

We can't say anything.

Serial construction (formed from stem or non-finite form of predicate plus inflected serial verb):

3.17 *[1]ŋyina = [4]ca = Ø* ***[1]ni*** ***[4]tam-ci***

we.EXCL = CTOP = ABS **go** **be.about.to-PFV**

We are about to leave.

3.18 *[2]kon-na = Ø = no* **[3]to:** **[1]yu-cim**

nephew-PL = ABS = FOC **arrive** **come.down-EXPER**

(Our) nephews have come down!

These types of main verbal construction can be divided between the simple inflected form on the one hand and all the non-simple constructions on the other. However, a division can also be drawn between simple forms and complex predicates which just involve one verbal lexeme whether it is simple or complex, and auxiliary, modal and serial constructions which each involve two verbal lexemes. One important point regarding all complex constructions is that the presence of complex elements does not affect the case-marking of the arguments, and any changes to case-marking of direct arguments which might occur in a clause with a complex rather than a simple verbal construction are related to the same factors, which are discussed in chapters 4, 5 and 6. Therefore, in the following discussion of case-marking patterns, we can assume that the same tendencies apply to all types of inflected main verbs, whether they are simple or complex. For example:

3.19 *[1]ŋa = Ø* *[1]yampu = i* **[1]ni-ci**

I = ABS Kathmandu = LOC **go-PFV**

I went to Kathmandu.

3.20 *[1]ŋa = Ø* *[1]yampu = i* **[1]ni** **[1]to:-ci**

I = ABS Kathmandu = LOC **go** **be.necessary-PFV**

I have to go to Kathmandu.

3.21 *[2]a = se* *[1]ʈanka = Ø* **[3]so-ci** *[2]ose = m*

you = ERG money = ABS **make** then = TOP

Did you earn (some) money then?

3.22 *[2]a=se* *[1]ʈanka=Ø* **[3]so** **[1]to:-ci** *[2]ose=m*

you=ERG money=ABS **make** **be.necessary-PFV** then=TOP

You need to earn (some) money then.

The exception to this is the constructions involving the verb *[3]cin* 'finish'. Used as a lexical verb, *[3]cin* is strictly intransitive and belongs to the class of intransitive verbs whose S argument is always absolutive (see section 5.2.1). However, when *[3]cin* 'finish' is used in a serial construction, the construction can take a second argument (ie. a P argument) and can have an ergative-marked A argument. For example:

3.23 *[3]me:me=se* *[2]airak=Ø* *[3]camma=no* **[2]thuŋ-pa** **[3]cin-ci**

grandpa=ERG liquor=ABS all=FOC **drink-NOMZ** **finish-PFV**

Grandpa drank all the liquor.

This can be explained by the fact that although *[3]cin* 'finish' is the inflectional head of the construction, *[2]thuŋ* 'drink' is the semantic head, and as such governs the participant frame (see section 2.5).

3.3.2 Verbal inflectional morphology and copular forms

Apart from the negative (*[3]a-*) and prohibitive (*[2]tha-*) morphemes which precede the verbal root, all verbal inflectional morphemes are suffixes. Although, as mentioned above, there is some overlap between finite and non-finite verbal morphology in Tamang, we can make some (admittedly imperfect) distinctions between the degrees of finiteness accorded to these. There is a set which can only be used on main verbs,[36] a set which can only be used on dependent verbs, and two intermediate sets: one of these is primarily dependent but frequently used as main verbs, and the other is essentially dependent but marginally used on main verbs. As usage as main verbs is so

[36] Although they can also be used in 'finite' dependent clauses such as reported speech, thoughts etc. (see section 7.6.3).

marginal for the latter group, I will not discuss it in detail due to the pressure of space. Certain morphemes have a corresponding form which is used for negatives: these appear in brackets.

Only main verbs		Primarily dependent but also frequently used as main verbs		Essentially dependent but marginally used as main verbs		Only dependent forms	
-ci/(-ni)	perfective	*-pa/-ta*	nominalizer	*-si*	sequential	*-pano*	progressive
-cim/(-nim)	experiential	*-pakila*	perfect	*-ye*	conditional	*-ma*	durative
-sim	speculative	*-te/-i*	inceptive			*-na*	resultative
-mi	mirative						
-la/(-Ø)	future						
-simte	future speculative						
-nam	predictive						
-kai	optative						
-o	hortative						

Table 3.7: Verbal inflectional morphemes

Apart from their main and dependent status, the inflectional suffixes can be divided into sets according to other aspects of their usage. For instance, the following morphemes are used for non-declarative speech acts (see section 3.3.4):

-kai	optative
-o	hortative

The following morphemes are all used for perfective, past utterances. The oppositions between them are evidential (see section 3.3.6):

-ci/(-ni)	perfective
-cim/(-nim)	experiential
-sim	speculative
-mi	mirative

The following morphemes are all used for future utterances. The oppositions between them are modal (see section 3.3.8):

-la/(-Ø)	future
-simte	future speculative
-nam	predictive
-te/-i/(-Ø)	inceptive/intentional[37]

The following morphemes are all converbial, and can stand as simple inflected predicates of dependent clauses (see sections 7.3 and 7.4):

-si	sequential
-ma	durative
-na	resultative
-ye	conditional

The non-converbial dependent morphemes can be considered nominalizers or participles:

-pa/-ta	nominalizer
-pano	progressive
-pakila	perfect
-te/-i	inceptive

Their primary use is in complex constructions (with an inflected auxiliary or matrix verb): *-te/-i* with *[1]la* 'do' as auxiliary in the inceptive aspectual construction (see section 3.3.7.5), and *-pa, -pano* and *-pakila* with copular auxiliaries in constructions which express respectively habitual, progressive and perfect aspect in the present and past. Some of these morphemes also have other uses. The main verb usage of *-te/-i* has been mentioned above. The nominalizer *-pa*[38] has a very wide range of uses including as the predicate of several types of dependent clause, as does the perfect nominalized form *-pakila* to a more limited extent (see chapter 7). Both of these can also be used as main verbs. This usage is related to information structure, and is used to indicate backgrounded states of affairs (see sections 3.3.5 and 3.5.3). In terms of semantics, dependent clauses generally do not have independent illocuationary force or TAME, which are interpreted according to the specifics of the

[37] Although *-te/-i* is primarily a dependent morpheme, it can also be used as a main verb, where it indicates intentional modality. Its future time reference when used as a main verb relates to implicatures arising from this aspect and modality.
[38] *-pa* has an allomorph *-ta* which is used after stems which end in dental consonants.

main clause. I will discuss the semantics of dependent clauses in chapter 7, which looks in detail at the structure of different types of dependent clause and their relations with the main clause. Most of the remainder of this chapter will focus on main clauses.

Verbal inflectional morphemes interact with *Aktionsart*, however their semantics are essentially regular. The only truly irregular verb forms are copular forms, mostly based on the attributive and equative roots *[1]mu* and *[3]hin*. With these lexemes, the suffix *-la*, which indicates future time reference for most verbs, also indicates present time reference: I therefore gloss the forms *[1]mula* and *[3]hinla* as 'non-past'. Their past forms are formed with the nominalizer morpheme, and are *[1]mupa* and *[3]hinta* respectively. These are used with both past time reference and to draw attention to a state of affairs whose generally or usually being the case is more important than whether the fact is also true at the precise moment of the utterance. *[1]mu* and *[3]hin* both have a suppletive experiential evidential form *[4]ʈim*, which not only collapses the attributive/equative distinction between the two verbs, but also collapses a time/aspect opposition as it is used for assertions about both the present and the past. The negative non-past form of *[1]mu* is also suppletive and tonally irregular, as the negative prefix (which usually has its own tone) is incorporated into the tone of the root, giving the lexicalized negative form *[1]are*. Both copulas can also take modal and evidential suffixes, and have past forms in *[1]arepa* and *[3]ahinta* respectively. *[1]mu* also has a backgrounded past form *[1]mupakila*. The full set of copular foms is as follows:

	Attributive: *[1]mu*		**Equative: *[3]hin***	
	Declarative	Negative	Declarative	Negative
Non-past	*[1]mula*	*[1]are*	*[3]hinla*	*[3]ahin*
Past	*[1]mupa*	*[1]arepa*	*[3]hinta*	*[3]ahinta*
Experiential	*[2]ʈim*	*[1]arem*	*[2]ʈim*	*[3]ahin*
Speculative	*[1]musim*	*[1]aresim*	*[3]hinsim*	*[3]ahinsim*
Mirative	*[1]mumi*	*[1]aremi*	-	-
Predictive	*[1]munam*	*[1]arenam*	*[3]hinnam*	*[3]ahinnam*
Backgrounded	*[1]mupakila*	-	-	-

Table 3.8: Copular forms

3.3.3 Structure of the verbal complex

In terms of inflectional structure, the division between verbal constructions involving one or two verbal lexemes is more important than the split between simple and complex constructions. This is because even in complex predicate constructions involving a non-verbal element, the root of the predicate lexeme itself is inflected as the head of the clause, while in constructions involving two verbal lexemes, the predicate root is structurally subordinate to the auxiliary, modal or serial verb which is inflected. This lexeme is therefore the structural head of the construction and of the clause, although the predicate lexeme remains the semantic head. We can therefore schematize two templates for inflectional slots in a verbal construction: the first for verbs involving one verbal lexeme where the predicate itself is inflected as the structural head, and those involving two verbal lexemes where the non-predicate verb is the structural head. These templates are as follows (non-compulsory elements are indicated in square brackets):

One verbal lexeme
[Non-verbal component]
[Reduplicated stem]
[Negative/prohibitive]
PREDICATE ROOT
Inflection

Two verbal lexemes
[Non-verbal component]
[Negative]
PREDICATE ROOT
[Non-finite inflection]
[Negative]
Auxiliary/serial/modal verb
Inflection

Table 3.9: Verbal constructions

For one-lexeme verbs, the bare minimum is a predicate root with an inflection, although they can also carry a negative or prohibitive prefix and/or a non-verbal element. The negative/prohibitive prefix always directly precedes the verbal root. For example:

3.24 *saroj=Ø* *[4]cyap* *[3]a-[1]ta-ni*

Saroj=ABS together NEG-become-PFV

[I] didn't meet Saroj.

3.25 *[4]kyat [2]tha-[1]la-kai [2]tini*

work PROH-do-OPT today

Let [them] not work today.

The inflection of the verb can be either as a dependent form (ie. converbial or some nominalized forms such as relatives) or it can be as a main verb. Main verbs can indicate the meanings mentioned in section 3.3.1: illocutionary force, information struction and TAME (as well as polarity, with negation expressed by prefixes, which for some inflections (eg. perfective, experiential) require a specific negative inflectional suffix). It is also possible to impart specific information structure properties to the predicate of a one-lexeme verb through a construction which reduplicates the verbal root in a position before the inflected verb, adding morphemes which mark information structure. For example:

3.26 *[1]kha = [4]ca = no [1]kha-la tara [2]mahin samai [3]a-[2]ʈi-Ø*

come = CTOP = FOC come-FUT but much time NEG-sit-FUT

Yes [I]'ll come but [I] won't stay long.

3.27 *[2]ana = Ø [2]ŋyin = ta [1]toː = [4]ca = no [3]a-[1]toː*

you.PL = ABS we.EXCL = DAT be.necessary = CTOP = FOC NEG-be.necessary

We don't need you!

As such constructions involve explicit and elaborate expression of information structure, I discuss them in more detail in section 3.5.2. They are interesting in the context of Tamang grammar because the information structure morphemes which are placed after the reduplicated verbal stem are also used on nominals, making them the only type of inflectional morphemes which can be used on nominal and verbal roots. Although these constructions involve two articulated verbal lexemes, I

consider them as one-lexeme constructions as the predicate root is still the inflected lexeme, and the other lexeme is positioned before it in a subordinated status rather than after it in a governing status.

Constructions composed of two verbal lexemes contain at the very minimum the predicate root, and an inflected modal or serial verb. For example:

3.28 *[3]taŋke [1]ni [1]to:-la*
now go be.necessary-FUT
Perhaps [we] should go now.

The minimum expression for an auxiliary construction is the predicate root with a non-finite (ie. nominalized/participle) inflection, governed by an inflected auxiliary. For example:

3.29 *[1]ŋyina = Ø [1]kan = Ø [1]ca-pano [1]mula*
we.EXCL = ABS rice = ABS eat-PROG COPA.NPST
We are eating.

As with one-lexeme verbs, the predicate in a two-lexeme construction can involve a non-verbal element. This comes at the beginning of the construction.

3.30 *tas [1]laŋ-pano [2]ʈim*
cards play-PROG COP.EXPER
[They] are playing cards.

Negation of two-lexeme constructions usually occurs on the inflected verb rather than the subordinate verb, for example:

3.31 *[1]ni* *[3]a-[4]myaŋ-ni* *[1]ro*

go NEG-manage-PFV REP

[He says he] didn't get the chance to go.

However, in the negative habitual construction, negation is expressed on the predicate rather than the auxiliary, for example:

3.32 *[3]a-[3]se:-pa* *[1]mula*

NEG-know-NOMZ COPA.NPST

[I] don't know.

Negating the auxiliary rather than the predicate of this construction also alters the aspect, making a negative perfect construction. I discuss these alternative inflections in more detail in section 3.3.7.2.

3.3.4 Illocutionary force

Apart from declarative clauses (which include negatives and interrogatives, which share declarative inflectional morphology), Tamang also possesses means of expressing hortative and optative declarative force. Neither hortative nor optative clauses can be negated with the (declarative) negative prefix *[3]a-*. Both instead take the prohibitive prefix *[2]tha-*. I will consider these non-declarative illocutionary acts before turning to declarative speech acts.

3.3.4.1 Hortative mode *-o/-ko*

The suffix *-o/-ko* (*-o* after verb roots ending in short vowels and consonants, *-ko* after those ending in long vowels) is used to give commands to the addressee - in this capacity it is used as an imperative. But if spoken with interrogative intonation (or with an overt first person pronoun), it indicates a question to an addressee, as to whether he/she wants the speaker to perform the action. It is not used with 3rd person forms. With regard to the 1st and 2nd person forms, *-o/-ko* has a

complementary (mutually exclusive) relationship with the main verb usage of inceptive participle *-te/-i* (see section 3.3.7.5), which in the instance of a declarative with no overt subject (and no reported speech marker) will be interpreted as referring to the 1st person (about the speaker's intention), whereas if spoken with interrogative intonation will be interpreted with 2nd person reference (asking the addressee about his/her intention).

The fact that the form is used for 1st person questions and 2nd person non-questions means that it bears some similarities to the disjunct category of a conjunct-disjunct system, a type which was first described by Hale (1980) for Kathmandu Newar. However, it is also something quite different, as the second person form is not an interrogative, but a non-declarative speech act. For example:

3.33	- *[1]kan = Ø* *[1]yuː-ko?*	- *[1]yuː-ko*
	- rice = ABS insert-HORT?	- insert-HORT
	- Shall [I] give [you] some more food?	- (Yes), give [me] more.

3.34	- *[1]ŋa = Ø* *[1]kho*	*ki*	*[2]tha-[1]kho?*	- *[2]tha-[1]kho*
	- I = ABS come.HORT	or	PROH-come.HORT?	- PROH-come.HORT
	- Shall I come or not?			- Don't come.

If the sentence-final particle *[1]le* is added to a command made with *-o/-ko*, it increases the sense that the utterance is an exhortation rather than a command. This could be considered to increase the level of politeness, though it could also indicate impatience on the behalf of the speaker.

3.35	*[2]mrap = Ø*	*[2]ʧhuŋ-o*	*[1]le*
	door = ABS	shut-HORT	PART
	Shut the door please.		

3.36 *[4]pro* *[1]le*

walk.HORT PART

Come on let's go! [Literally: 'walk please'].

3.3.4.2 Optative mode *-kai*

The speaker uses the optative suffix *-kai* to express his/her wish that something might happen. In main clauses it is used primarily with 3rd person reference, indicating the speaker's wish that the third party perform a certain action, but it can also be used with 1st person reference so that the speaker can wish something with regard to him/herself with non-volitional verbs. Taking account of both the 3rd and 1st person usages, it appears to indicate the speaker's wish for something to happen which is not under his/her own control. Here are some examples of the form in independent clauses:

3.37 *[1]mukai* *[1]mukai*

COPA.OPT COPA.OPT

Let it be, let it be! [Meaning: 'leave it'.]

3.38 - *[3]taŋke* *[1]kha-kai?* - *[2]tha-[1]kha-kai*

- now come-OPT? - PROH-come-OPT

- Should [he] come (in) now? - (No), don't let [him] come (in).

3.39 *[1]ŋa=Ø* *[1]si-kai*

I=ABS die-OPT

May I die! [OR] Let me die!

The optative cannot be used for reference to 2nd person in independent clauses (orders are given with the hortative). However, in various subordinate environments it can be used with 1st, 2nd or

3rd person reference, and must in fact be used if the speaker is talking about things that he/she hopes will happen or wants to happen (see section 7.6.3).

3.3.5 Information structure

As mentioned in section 3.3.1, Tamang possesses morphological means for indicating that a predicate expresses information which is presupposed or topical from the preceding discourse. These backgrounded forms can be used for declative, negative and interrogative clauses, and are expressed either by a simple nominalized verb with *-pa*, or by the perfect nominalized form *-pakila*. The simple nominalized inflection does not provide specific tense or aspectual information, and these are interpreted according to the discourse context and the lexical semantics of the predicate. On the other hand, the perfect nominalized form is explicitly telic and perfective, and indicates that the state of affairs is complete (although with some stative verbs this could also be inchoative, indicating the onset of a state which still holds at the time of speaking). Backgrounded forms constitute part of a rich inventory of functions which are available in Tamang for expressing information structure. I will consider all of these strategies in the same section (section 3.5), and discuss backgrounded predicates in detail in section 3.5.3.

3.3.6 Evidentiality and hearsay

All non-backgrounded expressions of present and past action in Tamang require the speaker to make some choice about expressing how he/she acquired the information he/she is asserting, and his/her attitude towards the reliability of the statement (see Aikhenvald 2004 for an overview of the range of meanings which can be considered under the topic of evidentiality). It therefore seems appropriate to discuss evidentiality even before aspect, as all examples used while discussing non-future tense and aspect will also contain evidential information. As mentioned in section 3.3, richly developed evidential systems are an areal feature of the Himalayan Region and Tibetan Plateau (see Owen-Smith and Hill 2014: 3), and have been extensively researched in Tibetic languages in particular (see section 3.3.6.1). Indrawati Khola Tamang also contains a form which appears to

express the speaker's surprise at an unexpected state of affairs. Morphemes with similar meanings in other languages of the region have generally been analysed as mirative (see DeLancey 1997), although Hill (2012) questions whether mirative is a valid category cross-linguistically.

3.3.6.1 Evidential oppositions in Tamang

Evidentiality in Tamang is a system involving several factors. Some of these are privative in some environments (that is, one form consistitutes the default or unmarked expression, which is sufficient to express the basic meaning required, while the other imparts extra information which the speaker can choose to express if he/she wishes), while others are equipollent (that is, the speaker is forced to choose between two forms, and thus make a conscious choice as to which of two meanings he/she wishes to express). The oppositions which form the base of Tamang's evidential system are as follows:

i) information which has been directly witnessed or experienced versus information which could be considered general knowledge, or which the speaker does not feel necessary to specify how he/she found out: descriptions of evidential systems in Tibetic languages which operate on a similar principle have referred to the broadly equivalent categories 'new knowledge' versus 'old knowledge' (see DeLancey 1986; Huber 2005)
ii) information which the speaker regards as certain enough to state confidently versus information which he/she has reason to believe may be the case, but feels he/she must hedge by using a form which indicates some doubt regarding its certainty
iii) information which the speaker wishes to indicate he/she has heard from someone else and is therefore second-hand versus information which is not marked in this way and which the speaker is happy to take responsibility for him/herself

Opposition (i) is between the set of past/present inflectional forms which are unmarked or neutral with regard to evidentiality (ie. perfective *-ci* (negative *-ni*), and past and present imperfective and

perfect auxiliary constructions involving a copula[39] - see section 3.3.7), and a corresponding set of 'experiential' evidential forms (see section 3.3.6.2), which are used to emphasize personal experience in the acquisition of the information and the fact that it is novel, and also appear to have a testimonial value of indicating a strong commitment by the speaker as to the truth value of the utterance. These forms consist of the experiential suffix *-cim* (negative *-nim*) which is used for past (and some ongoing) propositions and is in opposition to the perfective suffix *-ci*;[40] and the evidential copula *²tim*, which is in opposition to the evidentially neutral copulas *¹mu* and *³hin* as the auxiliary in present and past habitual, progressive and perfect constructions. The distinction between the experiential and neutral forms appears to be privative most of the time: the experiential form emphasizes the importance of personal experience regarding the information, therefore it gives 'extra' information rather than different or essential information, although most utterances where the experiential form is used could also be expressed with the neutral form. I will demonstrate these points in section 3.3.6.2, which discusses the experiential forms in more detail.

Opposition (ii) can be considered equipollent, as using the different forms actually entails a difference in meaning regarding the information which the speaker is asserting: either that it is true (ie. that there is no compelling reason to consider it otherwise) or that he/she has reason to believe it may be true, but is not sure. Thus, a set of speculative forms contrast with the neutral forms. It could be argued that 'speculative' is primarily a modal rather than an evidential category. But this form is used when the speaker has some evidence on which to base the speculation (for instance, if one sees dark clouds and mist on the other side of the valley, one would use this form to say 'it may be raining over there'). I prefer the term 'speculative' to 'inferential' for this form, following Palmer

[39] Imperfective auxiliary constructions usually involve the attributive copula *¹mu* as auxiliary, although the equative copula *³hin* can also be used in order to strongly focus an argument while not actively backgrounding the predicate (see section 3.5.4).

[40] It is worth noting that in Tamang, the perfective can be used for past utterances which have relevance to the present time (where English, for example, would prefer to use a perfect construction), and even in some cases to refer to the onset of actions or states which are still ongoing (an ingressive/inchoative meaning), as well as the more prototypical use for states of affairs which took place decisively in past and have no present relevance. I will discuss this in more detail in section 3.3.7.1.

(2001: 25), who defines the prototypes of these categories respectively as ‘a possible conclusion’ and ‘the only possible conclusion’: while this form makes a conjecture regarding the state of the world, it does not imply that other conjectures would be incorrect. The speculative forms are the suffix *-sim* for past propositions (which contrasts with the neutral perfective suffix *-ci*) and the corresponding forms of the copula *[1]musim* and *[3]hinsim* with various forms of the nominalized copula in auxiliary constructions for habitual, progressive and perfect aspects (see section 3.3.6.3 for further discussion and examples).

The third parameter, second-hand or reported information, can be expressed with the sentence-final reported speech marker *[1]ro*, and is therefore not strictly part of the verbal system. However, I consider it here so as to discuss evidential strategies in the same section. The use of *[1]ro* in declarative sentences is complex, because sometimes it has implications for the actual facts of the proposition whereas sometimes it does not. It can be used with evidentially neutral verbs, as well as with experiential and speculative forms. It therefore represents a separate system which interacts with all of the other categories. Its use is sometimes optional, and sometimes compulsory: these two different kinds of usage rules are conditioned by information about what the speaker can assert that he/she knows about the knowledge, experience and intentions of others (see section 3.3.6.4 for further discussion and examples).

Therefore, there can be considered to be one system involving a three-way evidential/modal contrast about first-hand information (the evidentially neutral, experiential and speculative forms are all generally first-hand, or neutral in this regard), and another system which explicitly marks information (of various kinds) as second hand. This is quite a similar system to that which LaPolla (2003: 197) describes for Qiang.

The three-way first-hand evidential system therefore comprises the following categories:

i) neutral (marked by *-ci* etc. - see section 3.3.7): utterances which the speaker generally assumes are true as there is no compelling reason to presume otherwise, and for which he/she feels there is no need to specify more details about its certainty or how he/she found it out: this can be considered the unmarked situation

ii) experiential (marked by *-cim* etc. - see section 3.3.6.2): utterances regarding which the speaker has had some kind of personal experience, and wishes to strengthen by emphasizing this experience; such clauses therefore have a high testimonial truth value; they also seem to convey 'new knowledge'

iii) speculative (marked by *-sim* etc. - see section 3.3.6.3): utterances which the speaker has some reason to believe may be the case, but does not wish to make the strength of commitment which comes with the neutral form

These could be viewed either in evidential terms, as i) evidence not important, ii) strong experienced evidence, iii) partial but inconclusive evidence, or in modal terms as i) an assertion which is unmarked with regard to the strength of its truth value, ii) an assertion with high truth value because it is based on personal experience, iii) an assertion with low truth value because the speaker him/herself feels only that it may be the case, and does not wish to commit to it. These two sets of oppositions overlap very significantly with each other. As mentioned above, this system is combined with a system of second-hand information, which is conveyed by the reported speech particle *[1]ro*. The full set of evidentials, and the forms which they are in opposition to can be laid out as follows:

	Perfective	Present habitual/ progressive	Past habitual/ progressive	Perfect	Past perfect
Neutral	*-ci*	*-pa(no) [1]mula*	*-pa(no) [1]mupa*	*-pakila [1]mula*	*-pakila [1]mupa*
Experiential	*-cim*	*-pa(no) [2]ʈim*		*-pakila [2]ʈim*	
Speculative	*-sim*	*-pa(no) [1]musim*	-	*-pakila [1]musim*	-

Table 3.10: Evidential forms

There appears to be a regular temporal/aspectual distinction between the evidential inflections used on predicate verbs and the copular forms *[2]ʈim, [1]musim*. While the former are past and are in

opposition to the neutral perfective *-ci* (the only difference being evidential), the latter are generally present and imperfective. However, the experiential copula *²ʧim* can also be used with past time reference (see Appendix: example 9). This may be an example of 'narrative present', where the speaker uses present tense to refer to actions which took place in the past in order to tell a vivid story. It is not possible to use the speculative copula *¹musim* in this way.

3.3.6.2 Experiential evidential *-cim*

The set of experiential evidentials are used to indicate the speaker's own sensory experience of the state of affairs expressed in the utterance. The form can be used when the experiential evidence is considered convincing enough to put the status of the assertion beyond doubt in the speaker's mind. For instance, one can say *²nam ¹yu-cim* (rain come.down-EXPER) 'it's raining' without seeing the rain if one hears it falling in the roof of the house: the sound of raindrops is considered characteristic enough to put the cause of the sound beyond reasonable doubt. As mentioned in section 3.3.6.2, the experiential can be used for both past and present, and perfective, perfect and imperfective propositions, though the semantics of the inflections which indicate direct experience of the state of affairs described in the clause tend to correlate with new information, and information with a high truth value on the part of the speaker.

3.40	*²kon-na=Ø=no*		*³to:*	*¹yu-cim*
	nephew-PL=ABS=FOC		arrive	come.down-EXPER
	(Our) nephews have come down!			

3.41	*siŋkare*	*¹kuŋke=⁴ca=no*	*⁴to:-cim*	*²e:=Ø*
	lion	tiger=CTOP=FOC	turn-EXPER	you=ABS
	You have become a lion-tiger.			

3.42 *²curaŋ ²curaŋ ²paŋ-pa ²ʈim*

like.this like.this say-NOMZ COP.EXPER

[They] say this and this.

3.43 *²ana=Ø=no januwar ²ʈim ²ana=Ø=n ¹niki ²ʈim*

you.PL=ABS=FOC animal COP.EXPER you.PL=ABS=FOC dog COP.EXPER

You are animals, you are dogs!

The perfective experiential *-cim* (negative *-nim*) is in opposition to the neutral perfective *-ci*, and its aspectual (and temporal) meaning interacts with the lexical aspect of the predicate in essentially the same way as the perfective suffix does (see section 3.3.7.1). The experiential copula *²ʈim*, which is also used in experiential auxiliary constructions is interesting as it neutralizes the attributive/equative distinction between *¹mu* and *³hin*, as well as the non-past/past distinction between copula forms *¹mula/³hinla* and *¹mupa/³hinta* (see Appendix: example 9).

The experiential can only be used for actions or states which have been externally perceived, and cannot be used for actions over which the speaker has agency. The perfective form *-cim,* for instance, can be used for any verb with 2nd and 3rd person reference (see examples 3.40, 3.41, 3.42, 3.43). However, with the 1st person it cannot be used for verbs whose semantics involve agency and volition, but only for verbs whose semantics do not involve these factors. For example, 3.44 is grammatical because the speaker reports something which he/she has perceived happening to him/her, while 3.45 is ungrammatical because the agency associated with the semantics of the verb *¹ni* 'go, leave'.

3.44 *[1]ŋa = Ø* *[1]khaŋ-cim*

I = ABS be.cold-EXPER

I'm cold!

3.45 **[1]ŋa = Ø* *[1]ni-cim*

*I = ABS go-EXPER

*I left.

The usage of the form is also determined by the identity of the patient: it is ungrammatical with 1st person patients. While the experiential copula would be the preferred form to report a 3rd person agent acting upon a 3rd person patient, it is incorrect for a speaker to use the experiential form where a 3rd person agent acts upon the speaker him/herself. In such situations he/she must use the neutral, non-experiential copula. This is illustrated in the examples 3.46 and 3.47. DeLancey (1986) proposes that the explanation for this pattern (which is also attested in Lhasa Tibetan) is that a speaker naturally becomes aware of a 3rd person agent acting upon him/herself from the start of the action, and therefore the action does not constitute new knowledge for the speaker by the time that he/she comes to report the action.

3.46 *[1]ʧasi = Ø* *[2]pasaŋ = ta* *[2]puŋ-pano* *[2]ʧim*

Tasi = ABS Pasang = PAT beat-PROG COP.EXPER

Tasi is beating Pasang.

3.47 *[1]ʧasi = Ø* *[1]ŋa = ta* *[2]puŋ-pano* *[1]mula/*[2]ʧim*

Tasi = ABS me = PAT beat-PROG COPA.NPST/ *COP.EXPER

Tasi is beating me.

The experiential can also be used in questions, in cases where the speaker expects the addressee to have direct experience (which the speaker presumably lacks) regarding the information expressed in the utterance. In questions, the restriction on 1st person referents for agentive/volitional verbs switches to a restriction on the 2nd person. This is because the addressee is not considered to have experiential knowledge of an action which he/she has carried out of his/her own volition. 3rd person referents are naturally allowed (see examples 3.48 and 3.49), as are 1st person referents if the speaker is asking about something which he/she him/herself cannot remember or does not know (see example 3.50). For example:

3.48 *[2]tai=Ø* *[1]ta-cim?* *[2]paŋ-ci* *[1]ŋye*
what=ABS happen-PFV say-PFV I.ERG
"What happened?" I said.

3.49 *- kitli=i* *[2]ki=Ø* *[2]ʈim* *ki* *[1]arem?* *- [2]ʈim*
- kettle=LOC water=ABS COP.EXPER or NEG.COP.EXPER - COP.EXPER
- Is there water in the kettle (or not)? - There is.

3.50 *[2]ŋyine* *[2]tai=Ø* *[1]la-cim?*
we.EXCL.ERG what=ABS do-EXPER?
What have we done?

3.3.6.3 Speculative evidential *-sim*

The speculative evidential category can be considered to have both modal and evidential values. It is modal in that it has more to do with the speaker's attitude regarding the status of an event than reporting that it happened. However, the speaker bases this attitude regarding the proposition on some kind of evidence, and for this reason it can be considered to act within the evidential system. Unlike the experiential form, which is generally used in situations that highlight that the knowledge

is new in some way and worthy of being marked for it, the speculative form can be used to refer both to propositions that the speaker has only recently acquired information about, or for things which he/she has had knowledge of for some time.

A speaker may use the speculative form if he/she has some reason - based either on perception, logic or a combination of the two - to suppose that the state of affairs he/she is referring to may be the case, but the reason is not conclusive enough to make a concrete statement about it by using a neutral form or the experiential. The range of meanings of Tamang speculative forms are expressed analytically in English with the epistemic adverbs *maybe/perhaps*, *possibly* and *probably*. The fact that the speculation can be based on either perception or logic can be shown by the following examples:

3.51 *[2]asyaŋ=Ø [1]kha-sim*
uncle=ABS come-SPEC
Maybe uncle has arrived. [Said when the speaker hears a voice in the house that sounds probably like uncle's but is not clear enough to be sure.]

3.52 - *[2]cyun=Ø [4]tap=i [1]ni-ci?* - *[4]tolo=no [1]ni-pa [3]taŋke [3]to:-sim*
- little.sis=ABS Dhap=LOC go-PFV? - earlier=FOC go-NOMZ now arrive-SPEC
- Did little sister go to Dhap? - [She] went earlier, [she] may have arrived there by now.

In example 3.51, the speculation is based on perception, in 3.52 it is based on logic. Inference could also be said to play a role in both cases. These examples also show that the distinction between old and new knowledge is irrelevant for this form, as 3.51 constitutes what would be classed as new knowledge in the experiential-neutral distinction, and 3.52 old knowledge, because the speaker knows that the sister left some time ago and cannot actually see if she has arrived yet at Dhap. The

speculation is based on both inference and a guess in both instances. Here are some examples of speculative auxiliary clauses:

3.53 *[1]kyar* *[4]pya=i* *[2]sya-pano* *[1]musim*
across wedding=LOC dance-PROG COPA.SPEC
[They] are probably dancing over at the wedding. [The speaker heard lively music coming from the direction of a house where a wedding was taking place.]

3.54 *[3]taŋke* *[3]ro=ki* *[4]kyat=Ø* *[3]cin-takila* *[1]musim*
now friend=GEN work=ABS finish-PERF COPA.SPEC
His work may be finished by now.

The speculative form is more commonly used with 3rd person reference than 1st or 2nd person. This is not surprising, as there will more situations which the speaker is speculating about something a third party has done or is doing than about him/herself or the addressee. If the speculative is used in the 2nd person, the speaker is telling the addressee something about her/himself, for instance *[2]a=se [3]se:-pa [1]musim* (you=ERG know-NOMZ COPA.SPEC) 'you probably know'. If the form is used with 1st person reference, it indicates that the speaker cannot remember clearly, although he/she accepts that there is a possibility that he/she may have done what he/she is talking about.

3.3.6.4 Reported speech marker *[1]ro* and second-hand information

The reported speech marker *[1]ro* occurs at the end of the sentence and indicates that the content of the sentence is not as such the speaker's own words, but rather that the speaker is reporting what someone else has said. It can be used with declarative sentences, as well as questions and other non-declarative utterances such hortatives and optatives. Its use is therefore wider than the inflectional evidential categories, which are always declarative. As it has scope over the whole utterance, it

could be discussed outside the verbal section. However, I discuss it here as hearsay is often discussed under the heading of evidentiality (see Aikhenvald 2004: 132-42).

When a speaker uses *ˡro* at the end of a sentence, it means that the words he/she has spoken are somebody else's - and they retain all the qualities of the original force. From the reported speech marker alone, it is not clear who has actually spoken the words. This may or may not be relevant with regard to the content of the sentence. In some circumstances, the source of the information expressed in the sentence is intended to be vague and not identified with a particular person. In such cases, *ˡro* indicates an assertion which the speaker wants to designate as general knowledge or a generally accepted fact, rather than something which comes explicitly from his/her own opinions and deductions. It is worth noting that the particle *ˡro* in Tamang bears striking similarities to the sentence-final particle *re* in Nepali (see Archarya 1991:183) in terms of its meaning, scope, position in the sentence, and form. Similar reported speech particles are also attested in other Tibeto-Burman languages in the region, for instance Kham (see Watters 2002: 300), Yolmo (see Gawne 2013: 323-49), and Thangmi (see Turin 2012: 445-6). While it is tempting to speculate that these forms have been calqued on Nepali *re*, there is no conclusive evidence that this is the case. In fact it seems more likely that the Nepali particle is calqued on Tibeto-Burman reported speech markers, as Nepali's Indo-Aryan relatives do not attest such forms (see Masica 1991).

A meaning similar to that of Tamang *ˡro* can be expressed in English by epistemic adverbial pharses such as *apparently*, *they say that*, or *so they say*, and it can serve both to distance the speaker from the information (and thus his/her level of commitment to it), or give the assertion a greater sense of respectability because it is as presented as something that is generally accepted. Consequently, it is used when telling stories.

3.55 *[2]tilma* *[3]poi=i* *[1]keː-pakila* *[1]ro*

yesterday Boi=LOC be.born-PERF REP

Before, [they] were born in Boi (Tibet) (it is said).

3.56 *[2]thaŋ=[4]ca=Ø=no* *[1]pla-cim* *[1]ro*

sunlight=CTOP=ABS=FOC dazzle-EXPER REP

[They say] the sunlight was dazzling.

In other cases, it can be clearly inferred from the discourse context, or from some component of the sentence itself, whose words are being reported. Many sentences with *[1]ro* could be interpreted either way, depending on the context in which they are uttered. If 3.57 was spoken by someone who hasn't been to England and doesn't know anyone there, it would a general meaning of something like 'they say it's very cold…'. However, if it is uttered by someone who has just spoken on the phone to his/her brother who is in England, it would be more likely to interpret that the brother is the source of the information, and the sentence would be translated as 'he says it's very cold…' or 'it's very cold…apparently'.

3.57 *belayat=i* *[2]mahin* *[1]khaŋ-pa* *[1]mula* *[1]ro*

England=LOC very be.cold-NOMZ COPA.NPST REP

They say it's very cold in England. [OR] It's very cold in England, apparently.

In many circumstances where *[1]ro* can be used however, the source of the information can be quite clearly understood, as the nature of the words themselves limits the possibilities. This is evident first with hortative (imperative) and optative clauses, which must have an immediate rather than a general interpretation. For instance:

3.58 *²yoːna* *¹kho* *¹ro*

quickly come.HORT REP

[He/she/they say(s)] come quickly!

3.59 *¹mukai* *¹ro*

COPA.OPT REP

[He says] let it be.

As is typical in Tamang, many reported clauses do not contain overt arguments, and their identity must be inferred by the addressee. With most declarative verbs, the source of the utterance (ie. the person whose words are reported) can him/herself be the 3rd person referent of the utterance, or the utterance can refer to another third party. In some regional linguistic traditions such a person is referred to as 'fourth person' (see Fortescue 1984 on West Greenlandic). The term has not become very established in Himalayan linguistics (although see Huber 2014), but I believe that it is useful in cases where the morphology can only refer to another 3rd person, as certain Tamang inflections do when used with the reported speech marker. The majority of declarative clauses with *¹ro* could be interpreted as having either 3rd person or 4th person referents if they were standalone clauses. However it is usually clear from context if the speaker is referring to the source of the utterance (ie. 3rd person), or if the referent is 4th person, the person will usually be topical enough in the discourse that the addressee can work out who it is. The identity of referent(s) in example 3.60 would therefore be inferred from context. Note that the same ambiguity exists in English in this example, if the gender and number of the subject and the person or people that the subject is talking about agree.

3.60 *²namsyo* *¹kha-la* *¹ro*

tomorrow come-FUT REP

[He/she/they$_{i}$ say(s) he/she/they$_{i/j}$] will come tomorrow.

If *[1]ro* is used with the experiential on the other hand, it indicates that the source of the utterance conveyed by the speaker (ie. a 3rd person) is not him/herself the referent of the verb. As discussed in section 3.3.6.2, the experiential category cannot be used by the speaker in reference to something that he/she has done by their own volition. If someone uses an experiential therefore, in the great majority of cases it refers to the 3rd person. With the reported speech marker, this reference is shifted again so that the default reference is 4th person. For instance:

3.61 *[4]toŋpo = i = se* *[1]te:-cim* *[1]ro*
tree = LOC = ABL fall-EXPER REP
[He$_i$ said that he$_j$] fell out of the tree.

3.62 *[3]me:me = Ø* *[1]mar = se* *[1]kha-pano* *[2]ʧim* *[1]ro*
grandpa = ABS below = ABL come-PROG COP.EXPER REP
[He says] grandpa is coming from below.

3.3.6.5 Mirative *-mi*

The term 'mirative' was proposed by DeLancey (1997: 33) as a semantic category for 'the grammatical marking of unexpected information'. As mentioned earlier in this section, Tamang has an experiential evidential category, which is used for emphasizing the speaker's (or in questions the addressee's) experience of a state of affairs, and the fact that it is something which the speaker (or addressee) has recently found out about, and therefore constitutes new information. Tamang also has a separate category marked with *-mi*, which is rarer than the experiential, and appears to mark information which is genuinely surprising and unexpected to the speaker, rather than information which is simply externally perceived and new.

The mirative can be used for declarative statements with 2nd and 3rd person reference with all kinds of verbs, however with 1st person reference it can only be used for patientive/non-volitional verbs. The semantics of the form are not very compatible with questions, and I do not believe the form can be used in the interrogative. Here are some examples:

3.63 *[2]uci* *[2]tha-[1]nu* *[2]puhi=Ø* *[1]kha-mi*
there.level PROH- go.HORT snake=ABS come-MIR
Don't go over there a snake is there!

3.64 *[2]eː=Ø* *[2]mahin* *[2]wala* *[1]ta-mi*
you=ABS very red happen-MIR
You've become very red!

3.65 *[2]cyun=Ø* *[1]haː-pano* *[1]mumi* *[2]tai=Ø* *[1]ta-ci?*
little.bro=ABS cry-PROG COPA.MIR what=ABS happen-PFV?
Little brother is crying! What happened?

As these examples show, the form can be used in normal declarative sentences. It is also often used in exclamative sentences, in which the speaker indicates surprise, marvel, or frustration. These sentences use content question words but they are not questions, and the force of these words is rhetorical rather than interrogative. Some examples:

3.66 *[2]tai* *[1]pokʈe* *[1]ta-mi!*
what thin happen-MIR!
How thin [I] have become!

3.67 *²tai* *⁴cokke* *¹mumi* *²eː=Ø*

what stupid COPA.MIR you=ABS

How stupid you are!

It is not compulsory to use the mirative form in these expressions (one could also use the experiential), but the sense of surprise which the mirative imparts goes well with the surprise of the exclamation. The fact that the experiential could also be felicitously used in these examples shows that mirative imparts an extra meaning rather than a basic one.

3.3.7 Tense and aspect

As mentioned in section 3.3.6, all declarative utterances with past or present time reference can be considered to have some kind of evidential value, even if this is neutral. The unmarked reference point from which an utterance views a state of affairs is the time of the speech act, which constitutes the deictic centre (see Levinson 1983: 64). Perfective, perfect and present imperfective (habitual and progressive) utterances operate from this reference point, while past perfect (or alternatively, pluperfect) and past imperfective (habitual and progressive) work from a secondary reference point in the past, which is established by a narrative or discourse referring to events in the past. The temporal and aspectual semantics of inflectional morphemes and constructions interact with the inherent aspect (*Aktionsart*) of each predicate, and it is important to consider the *Aktionsart* of the predicate with regard to the meaning of the whole construction.[41] For instance, if the perfective is used with a non-telic predicate (state or activity), it often refers to the inception of the state of affairs, which may well be ongoing at the time of speaking. The set of forms with present and past time reference has already been presented in table 3.10 in section 3.3.6.1 on evidential oppositions.[42]

[41] I follow the classification of predicates into aspectual classes originally proposed by Vendler (1957) and adopted by van Valin and LaPolla (1997) for their framework of lexical decomposition of predicates.

[42] I will discuss forms with future time reference - which intersect strongly with modality - in section 3.3.8.

Of these inflections, *-ci* can be said to be have semantics of both perfective aspect and past tense (see section 3.3.7.1), although I believe that aspect is a more fundamental part of its meaning than tense. There is a strong universal semantic link between perfective aspect and the past, for as Comrie (1976) points out, an action which is ongoing in the present by definition cannot be perfective, and the nature of a future action is still less clearly defined than one in the past. Therefore it is more likely that a perfective clause will refer to the past than the present or future. The perfective is used primarily to indicate past events: completed if the predicate is telic and inchoative/ingressive (ie. the onset of a state or activity) if non-telic. However it can also be used to refer to events which are about to take place in the immediate future: for instance, one can say *[2]nam [1]yu-cim* (rain come.down-EXPER) 'it's raining' (literally: 'it rained') as the sky darkens before the first drops fall. The use of perfective aspect for imminent events appears to be an areal feature, as this also occurs in Kiranti languages and Nepali (see van Driem 2001: 657-8).

Tamang has two imperfective aspects: habitual and progressive, both of which are expressed analytically through constructions with a nominalized form in *-pa* and a copula as auxiliary (see sections 3.3.7.3 and 3.3.7.4). As with *-ci*, the meanings of these constructions involve both tense and aspect, though the components are more recognisable in this case. The aspect is imparted by the nominalized predicate, which in its simple form indicates habitual aspect and when suffixed with the focus particle *=no* indicates progressive aspect (except for some stative verbs, where this distinction is neutralized).[43] The auxiliary imparts time reference, the non-past form of the copula indicating present time reference and the past copula, past time reference. Another analytic expression involving the nominalized predicate marked with double-genitive case *=kila* indicates perfect aspect (see section 3.3.7.4). Similarly to the two imperfective aspects, time reference is imparted by the copula: a present copula makes a perfect clause in which a past event has some particular relevance

[43] Although the progressive form etymologically consists of two morphemes (nominalizer *-pa* and focus marker *=no*) I believe it is sufficiently grammaticalized to justify glossing it as one synchronic morpheme. The same applies to the perfect form, which is etymologically composed of the nominalizer plus a pronominalized genitive in *=kila*, but appears to be an independent morpheme synchronically.

at the time of speaking, whereas a nominalized copula indicates that the point of time reference is in the past and therefore the perfect aspect is a pluperfect.

There is also a construction formed of the inceptive participle form in *-te/-i* and the verb *[1]la* 'do' as auxiliary (see section 3.3.7.5). I call this the 'inceptive' construction, as it focuses on the inception of a state of affairs, but can actually refer to the time just before or just after it has begun. In this construction, the participle component is strongly aspectual, while the auxiliary imparts temporal reference, which can be at the time of speaking or some point in the past.

3.3.7.1 Perfective aspect *-ci* etc.

The suffix *-ci* (negative *-ni*) is the most common inflection for expressing past time reference and most typically denotes an action viewed in its entirety (although as discussed in section 3.3.6.1, experiential *-cim* and speculative *-sim* also have the same aspectual and temporal value, the only difference being evidential). For telic predicates or phrases indicating bounded actions it indicates that the action is complete. The perfective is also used in reference to many past actions which may still have present relevance, for which English would tend to use perfect aspect.

3.68 *[2]ki = Ø* *[1]tarjaŋ* *[1]chya:-cim*
water = ABS ice freeze-EXPER
The water has frozen (to ice).

3.69 *[4]tim = i = se* *[3]a-[1]thon-ni*
house = LOC = ABL NEG-emerge-PFV
[He/she] didn't come out of the house.

3.70 *[1]ŋye ci̯thi [4]som = Ø [3]pri-ci*

I.ERG letter three = ABS write-PFV

I have written three letters.

3.71 *[3]cyocyo = Ø [1]yampu = i [2]tilma [3]to:-ci [1]ro*

big.bro = ABS Kathmandu = LOC yesterday arrive-PFV REP

Big brother [says that he] arrived in Kathmandu yesterday.

3.72 *[3]he:-cyappa = Ø [4]ko:-ci*

song-COLL = ABS sing-PFV

[We] sang songs.

With non-telic predicates its meaning is more flexible: it can indicate that the state of affairs of the predicate was in force for a period and has now finished, or it could indicate that the situation is still ongoing. For these types of predicates, therefore, the suffix can also have an inchoative meaning, although it does not always. Some examples of the inchoative and perfective meanings are as follows:

3.73 *[1]khaŋ-ci.*

be.cold-PFV.

[I'm] cold.

3.74 *[3]ro = ta [1]ni-i [4]man-ci [1]ro*

friend = PAT go-INC think-PFV REP

He [says he] wants to leave.

3.75 *[2]tilma* *[2]a = ta* *[3]kompo = ki* *[2]chyo = i* *[1]mraŋ-ci*

yesterday you = PAT temple = GEN side = LOC see-PFV

Yesterday [I] saw you by the temple.

3.76 *[1]e:* *[3]taŋke* *[1]mraŋ-ci* *[2]a = ta*

oh now see-PFV you = PAT

Oh, now [I] see you.

3.77 *[3]tini = Ø* *[2]wala* *[1]phya:-cim*

sun = ABS red shine-EXPER

The sun is (shining) red.

3.3.7.2 Habitual aspectual constructions with *-pa*

This construction gives different aspectual readings for stative and non-stative verbs. For all non-stative verbs, it indicates an action which is repeated an unspecified number of times. It does not draw particular attention to the fact that an action occurs many times, but only that it is habitual. The auxiliary of the construction is usually the attributive copula *[1]mu*, however it is also possible to use the equative copula *[3]hin*. Using the equative copula alters the information structure of the utterance, focusing an argument. I discuss this form of the construction in detail in section 3.5.4.

3.78 *[2]mahin [3]raŋpa* *[1]ŋa = Ø* *[2]yo:na* *[1]chiŋ-pa* *[1]mula*

usually I = ABS quickly wake.up-NOMZ COPA.NPST

I usually get up early.

3.79 *[2]cu* *[2]syoŋ = Ø* *[1]serka = i* *[1]ŋar-pa* *[1]mula*

this stream = ABS winter = LOC evaporate-NOMZ COPA.NPST

This stream dries up in the winter.

3.80 *[2]ŋyase [2]ŋyase [1]yu-pa [1]mupa*

evening evening come.down-NOMZ COPA.PST

[We] used to come down in the evening(s).

With some stative predicates, the construction can be either stative or habitual, which generally relates to the semantics of the verb.

3.81 *[3]koʈa = i [1]khaŋ-pa [1]mula*

cattleshed = LOC be.cold-NOMZ COPA.NPST

It's cold in the cattleshed (generally).

3.82 *[3]ro = Ø [2]yo:na = no [4]tu:-pa [1]mula*

friend = ABS quickly = FOC be.tired-NOMZ COPA.NPST

He gets tired quickly.

The most stative predicates (including descriptive predicates) always receive a stative reading, for example:

3.83 *[1]ŋye [2]ut = ta [3]se:-pa [1]mula*

I.ERG that = PAT know-NOMZ COPA.NPST

I know him.

3.84 *[2]ut = ki [4]tim = Ø [3]cya-pa [1]mula*

that = GEN house = ABS be.good-NOMZ COPA.NPST

His house is nice.

It is possible to negate either the nominalized predicate or the auxiliary, and doing so imparts different aspectual meanings: adding the negative prefix to the predicate negates the utterance but maintains the habitual/stative reading of the declarative, while using a negative form of the copula both negates the utterance and imparts perfect aspect. This can be seen in the following examples:

3.85 *[3]me=ki* *[1]sya=Ø* *[3]a-[1]ca-pa* *[1]mula*
cow=GEN meat=ABS NEG-eat-NOMZ COPA.NPST
[I] don't eat beef.

3.86 *[3]me=ki* *[1]sya=Ø* *[1]ca-pa* *[1]are*
cow=GEN meat=ABS eat-NOMZ NEG.COPA.NPST
[I] haven't eaten (the) beef.

This difference in meaning appears to be related to a difference in the scope of negation in the two constructions, and raises more interesting questions about the nature of the auxiliary construction and its components. Unfortunately it is not possible to discuss these in detail in this thesis. The two alternative negation strategies are not available for progressive and perfect auxiliary constructions (see sections 3.3.7.3 and 3.3.7.4), which can only be negated by negating the auxiliary, not by negating the nominalized predicate. Negated forms of these constructions are also not particularly common in discourse. In preference to the negative progressive the backgrounded negative form, with a nominalized main verb (see sections 3.3.5 and 3.5.3) is used: this is appropriate, as negative utterances tend to be presupposed, and backgrounded forms are used for highly presupposed utterances. And rather than a negative perfect construction with a perfect nominalized form in *-pakila*, speakers tend to use the construction with a simple nominalized form and negative auxiliary, which also has a (negative) perfect interpretation.

3.3.7.3 Progressive aspectual constructions with *-pano*

The base of the progressive construction is the same as that of the habitual. In this construction, the focus marker *=no* is suffixed to the nominalized predicate. The result is progressive aspect for all non-stative verbs, and for stative verbs, an emphasis or focus on the state indicated in the predicate. Progressive aspect highlights a state of affairs as ongoing at the precise moment in time to which the clause refers. Therefore, the present progressive formed from the non-past copula *[1]mula* indicates that it is ongoing at the time of speaking, whereas the past progressive, formed with the past copula *[1]mupa*, indicates that the state of affairs was in force at the time which the clause is referring to, but is probably not so any longer. For example:

3.87 *[1]ama=Ø* *[1]saŋa=Ø* *[1]to-pano* *[1]mupa*
mother=ABS millet=ABS strike-PROG COPA.PST
Mother was beating millet.

3.88 *[3]tini=i* *[1]liŋ=Ø* *[2]syun-tano* *[2]ʈim*
sun=LOC snow=ABS melt-PROG COP.EXPER
The snow is melting in the sun.

3.89 *[2]kolesi* *[1]kha-pano* *[1]mula* *[1]ro*
slowly come-PROG COPA.NPST REP
[They say they] are coming slowly.

3.90 *[2]airak=Ø* *[3]so-pano* *[2]ʈim*
liquor=ABS make-PROG COP.EXPER
[They] are making liquor.

Examples with stative predicates, which achieve an emphatic rather than progressive interpretation, are as follows:

3.91 *[2]tilma [2]mahin [4]pra-ci [1]wa. [2]tini [3]to:na=no [4]tu:-pano [1]mula*
yesterday much walk-PFV PART. today uptill=FOC be.tired-PROG COPA.NPST
Ah [we] walked a lot a lot yesterday. [I]'m still tired today.

3.92 *[2]ucu [1]tam=Ø [1]ŋye [3]se:-pano [1]mula*
that word=ABS I.ERG know-PROG COPA.NPST
(Of course) I know that!

3.3.7.4 Perfect aspectual constructions with *-pakila*

The perfect nominalized form appears to be formed etymologically of the nominalizer morpheme plus a pronominalized genitive in *=kila* (see section 4.8). However, synchronically it is a unitary morpheme. It can be used in two auxiliary constructions. As with the other auxiliary constructions, the non-past copula *[1]mula* is an auxiliary which anchors the point of reference of the construction to the time of speaking, while the past copula *[1]mupa* anchors the point of temporal reference to some point in the past. The former construction therefore has a present perfect interpretation while the latter is a past perfect (or pluperfect). As noted in section 3.3.7.1, Tamang often uses simple perfective to report actions which are very recent and of relevance to the present time. The perfect construction appears more strongly resultative in Tamang than it is in, for instance, English. However, like the perfective, for certain predicates the Tamang perfect can be used to describe the onset of an ongoing state, and therefore has uses similar to the present and past progressive in English. Perfect constructions receive different interpretations for telic and non-telic predicates. For telic predicates the perfect indicates that the action is complete. For example:

3.93 *[2]noŋ-pakila* *[1]mula*

break-PERF COPA.NPST

[It] is broken.

3.94 *[1]niki = se* *[1]hap-pakila* *[1]mula*

dog = ERG bite-PERF COPA.NPST

The dog has bitten [him/her].

3.95 *[1]kan = Ø* *[3]min-takila* *[1]mupa*

rice = ABS cook-PERF COPA.PST

The food was ready (cooked).

However, with most non-telic predicates the perfect indicates that the action began, and is most likely still to be ongoing at the temporal reference point of the perfect construction (present or past). So, perfect constructions for non-telic predicates actually denote actions which are still occurring in the present, and as such the deictic temporal reference of the constructions could be said to be shifted forwards in these cases, where using a perfect construction appears to be a stylistic alternative to using the present progressive construction. For state and activity predicates therefore, the pluperfect also shifts forward to occupy the temporal domain vacated by the perfect: it can be used as a stylistic alternative to the past progressive. For example:

3.96 *[2]ki = Ø* *[2]lut-takila* *[2]ʈim*

water = ABS spill.over-PERF COP.EXPER

The water is spilling/boiling over.

3.97 *[1]ne:me = Ø* *[2]ŋya-pakila* *[1]mupa*

bird = ABS make.noise-PERF COPA.PST

The birds were singing.

3.98 *[4]kyam = Ø* *[1]phiccya* *[1]ka:-pakila* *[1]mula* *[1]ro*

road = ABS again be.blocked-PERF COPA.NPST REP

Apparently the road is blocked again.

It appears that adjectival verbs such as *[3]cya* 'be good', *[3]kop* 'bad' etc. cannot be used felicitously with either the perfect or the pluperfect construction. This is one point which sets them apart from other stative verbs.

3.3.7.5 Inceptive aspectual constructions

The inceptive participle form can be used in an auxiliary construction with the verb *[1]la* 'do' which draws attention to the beginning of an action - but can refer to a point either before or after the action has actually begun. The auxiliary of the construction, *[1]la* 'do' can impart various different temporal reference points in a similar way to copular auxiliaries, which indicate the time of the inception of the action. For example:

3.99 *[1]liŋ = Ø* *[2]syun-te* *[1]la-cim*

snow = ABS melt-INC do-EXPER

The snow has started to melt.

3.100 - *[2]khanto* *[1]ni-pa?* - *[1]thaŋpal = i* *[1]ni-i* *[1]la-pa*

- where go-NOMZ? - Thangpal = LOC go-INC do-NOMZ

- Where are [you] going? - [I]'m going to Thangpal.

3.101 *[2]airak = Ø* *[3]so-i* *[1]la-pa?*

liquor = ABS make-INC do-NOMZ?

Have [you] started to make liquor? [OR] Are [you] about to make liquor?

3.102 *[1]tam = Ø* *[2]paŋ-te* *[1]la-pakila*

word = ABS say-INC do-PERF

[I] was just about to start speaking. [OR] [I] had started speaking. [OR] [I] was speaking.

Tamang does have means of indicating clearly that an action as begun (with the construction involving *[1]la* and a focused nominalized complement eg. *[2]thuŋ-pano [1]la-ci*, see section 7.6.2), and that an action is about to happen (a serial construction with the verb stem followed by *[4]tam* 'about to happen' eg. *[1]ni [4]tam-ci* '[I] am about to go', see section 3.3.1), so the inceptive does not represent a construction which is simply ambiguous about whether an action has occurred before or after the time reference of the clause. The inceptive rather appears to focus on a different aspect of the action - which is the fact of its onset or inception - and when using the inceptive, it is this that the speaker chooses to highlight, rather than whether the action was about to begin or had already begun.

3.3.8 Modality

Utterances which refer to future states of affairs intersect more closely with modality than those which refer to the present and past, as the uncertain nature of future action means that, rather than degrees of certainty in the speaker's assertion that a certain event happened, future time reference will have more to do with a speaker's attitude as to how likely something is to happen. The verbal inflections which encode future time in Tamang are (neutral) future *-la,* speculative future *-simte*, predictive future *-nam*, and intentional *-te/-i*. I will look at these, and discuss the relationship between their modality and future time over the next few sections.

As mentioned in section 3.3.1, Tamang possesses a number of verbs which are used in complex constructions to give different shades of dynamic and deontic modality (see Palmer 2001) to the state of affairs expressed in the predicate. These modal constructions consist of just the stem of the predicate, and an inflected form of the modal verb. The set of modal verbs used in this type of construction is *[1]to:* 'be necessary, must', *[1]kham* 'can (physically), be allowed to (permission)', *[4]myaŋ* 'have the chance to', and *[3]se:* 'know (how to)'. Some examples are as follows:

3.103 *[1]ŋa = Ø* *[1]yampu = i* *[1]ni* *[1]to:-ci*
I = ABS Kathmandu = LOC go be.necessary-PFV
I need to go to Kathmandu.[44]

3.104 *[2]cu* *[4]tot = Ø* *[2]pi:* *[1]kham-la* *[2]a = se?*
this load = ABS carry can-FUT you = ERG?
Can you carry this load? [OR] Will you be able to carry this load?

In addition, there are periphrastic strategies of expressing one's attitude towards the likelihood of events happening in the future, for example *[3]raŋpa [4]ʈim* (like COP.EXPER) and *[4]man-ci* (think-PFV), which can be translated in English respectively as 'it looks like' and 'I think'. Both are normally used with the neutral future tense, but provide a more specific hedging on the speaker's commitment to the likelihood of his/her prediction to come true. For example:

3.105 *[2]nam = Ø* *[1]yu-la* *[3]raŋpa* *[2]ʈim*
rain = ABS come.down-FUT like COP.EXPER
It looks like it's going to rain.

[44] Note that with the modal verb *[1]to:* 'be necessary, must', perfective aspect is normally used to refer to an immediate situation. Habitual (*[1]to:-pa mula*) or backgrounded (*[1]to:-pa*) forms usually trefer to a more general need which is not so tied to the time of speaking.

3.106 *[1]ŋa=ta* *[2]cu* *[3]cyal=Ø* *[2]thi-la* *[4]man-ci*

I=PAT this window=ABS smash-FUT think-PFV

I think this window is going to break.

3.3.8.1 Future tense *-la*

The meaning of *-la* seems to be more temporal than modal. As no state of affairs in the future can be completely certain, there is a certain amount of doubt in the meaning of the morpheme - but I would say that it can be used for something that the speaker expects to happen, and has no strong reason to suspect will not happen. As such, it sits in an intermediate and basically neutral position between the speculative future *-simte* and the predictive future *-nam*. It also doesn't seem to be related to intention, as it is compatible to use it for verbs which are non-volitional/patientive (ie. over which the referent has no control) as well as those which imply agency/volition, and those which only have non-human A arguments. It appears that *-la* can be used for any time in the future, no matter how far or near. For example:

3.107 *[3]taŋke* *[2]a=ta* *[1]pin-la*

now you=DAT give-FUT

[I]'ll give [it] to you now.

3.108 *[1]ŋa=Ø* *[3]kuriŋ* *bides=i* *[1]ni-la*

I=ABS next.year foreign.country=LOC go-FUT

I'll go abroad next year.

-la is unspecified with regard to aspect, and can be used for both perfective and imperfective actions. The default aspect of a future proposition with *-la* is determined by the lexical aspect of the predicate. For example:

3.109 *[1]ŋa = Ø [3]tin [4]taŋsino [1]kha-la*

I = ABS day every come-FUT

I will come every day.

3.110 *[1]niki = se [1]hap-la*

dog = ERG bite-FUT

The dog will bite [you].

3.111 *[1]kan = Ø [3]yoː-la*

rice = ABS be.enough-FUT

This will be enough food.

It is possible to cast a measure of doubt on the assertion by adding the particle *[1]wa* (see section 3.5.5) after the verb. *[1]wa* is very versatile and can also be used after inflections other than the future tense. It appears that in the future at least, *[1]wa* can be used both for marking questions if they are addressed to someone, and for adding doubt and thus reducing the certainty of statements. Here are some examples:

3.112 *[2]eː = Ø [1]ni-la [1]wa?*

you = ABS go-FUT PART?

Will you go?

3.113 *[1]ŋyi [2]cyun = Ø [1]serka = i [1]kha-la [1]wa*

I.GEN little.sis = ABS winter = LOC come-FUT PART

My sister might come in the winter.

3.114	*[2]nam=Ø*	*[1]yu-la*	*[1]wa*	*[3]a-[1]yu-Ø*	*[1]wa*
	rain=ABS	come.down-FUT	PART	NEG-come.down-FUT	PART
	It might rain, it might not rain.				

As is shown in example 3.114, the negative form of the future has just the negative prefix with a bare stem. We can propose that in these cases that there is a zero morpheme, in opposition to the affirmative *-la*.

3.3.8.2 Speculative future *-simte*

This inflection can be considered a future counterpart of the speculative evidential category *-sim* (see section 3.3.6.3). It appears to be morphologically derived from that form, possibly with the addition of the inceptive suffix *-te/-i* to the speculative form. Like *-sim*, this suffix includes elements of both evidentiality and modality. But I propose that while evidentiality is more important for *-sim*, modality is the more important component of *-simte.* This is because *-simte*, although it involves some degree of weighing up evidence on the part of the speaker, refers to an event which cannot be evidentially validated or not, as it has not taken place. Furthermore, *-simte* is in opposition to the other future/modal forms *-la* (neutral future) and *-nam* (predictive), and has the same ambivalence to perfective or imperfective aspect as these forms.

By suffixing a verb with *-simte* the speaker indicates that s/he does not have enough evidence to state with conviction that a certain state of affairs will take place (or not). This means that he/she might have some evidence, or he/she might have no evidence at all. It is therefore the weakest of the future forms, representing less commitment to its prediction about a future event than either the neutral future form *-la* or the stronger predictive form *-nam*. With 3rd and 2nd person reference, and 1st person reference for patientive/non-volitional verbs, the speaker is simply making a guess or speculation that the state of affairs might happen, and indicates that he/she does not know for sure if it will. If used with 1st person reference for volitional/agentive verbs, the speaker is indicating that

he/she might perform the action, though he/she has not resolved to do it, and does not commit to doing it.

3.115 - *[2]a=ki* *[4]came=Ø* *[2]khya:ma* *[1]kha-la?* - *[2]arku* *[2]la=i* *[1]kha-simte*
- you=GEN daughter=ABS when come-FUT - other month=LOC come-SPEC.FUT
- When will your daughter come? - [She] might come next month.

3.116 *[2]a=ta* *[2]ki=Ø* *[1]phi:-simte* *[2]ki=Ø* *[3]pur-o*
you=DAT water=ABS rise-SPEC.FUT water=ABS take.away-HORT
You might get thirsty, take some water (with you).

3.117 *[2]namsyo* *[1]ni-simte* *tara* *[1]sem=Ø* *[1]are*
tomorrow go-SPEC.FUT but heart=ABS be.NEG
[I] might go tomorrow but I don't really want to.

3.3.8.3 Predictive mode *-nam*

The predictive mode form is the last member of the three-way system differentiating the degree of the speaker's predictive force about a potential future action. As discussed in the previous sections, *-la* is relatively neutral in modal terms and appears closest to being a simple future time inflection, while *-simte* indicates that the speaker is only speculating about the future and is therefore weak declaratively. *-nam* is used for a potential action which is not under the speaker's control, but which he/she has a strong belief will come to pass.

On the other hand, *-nam* can be seen in opposition to the intentional use of inceptive participle *-te/-i*. The reason for this is that *-te/-i* is a form which indicates intention on behalf of the speaker to actually perform the action which he/she says (and therefore something which is under his/her control), and the speaker can only use declaratively with regard to him/herself (see section

3.3.8.4). *-nam* on the other hand is used for propositions over which the speaker does not have any control, so when he/she makes a future statement regarding this proposition, it is something beyond his/her own agency, ie. a prediction. The semantics of *-nam* therefore preclude it from being used with 1st person verbs which are agentive/volitional, however it can be used with 1st person verbs which are patientive/non-volitional. Some examples:

3.118 *[4]ki:=no* *[1]ta-nam*
one=FOC happen-PRED
[It] will be the same.

3.119 *[2]namsyo* *[3]to:-nam*
tomorrow arrive-PRED
[I] will arrive tomorrow.

3.3.8.4 Intentional mode

The inceptive suffix *-te/-i* is intriguing in terms of both its semantic and its syntactic properties. *-te/-i* is often associated with future action, but its meaning is essentially aspectual and modal, and time reference is an implicature[45] which follows from its pragmatic use. It is used as a subordinate form in two constructions: the inceptive aspectual construction with the verb *[1]la* 'do' (see section 3.3.7.5), and as a complement of the verb *[4]man* 'want, think' in constructions indicating desire (see section 7.6.3). Due to these subordinated uses which indicate that it is non-finite, I refer to it as a participle. However, it can also be used as a main verb. This usage, which I call the 'intentional' mode focuses on the instigation of an action, and most importantly on the referent's resolve in being about to perform it. The fact that the semantics of this form explicitly indicate intention on the part of the referent entails more restrictions for the use of this suffix than for the

[45] 'Implicature' is defined by Horn (2005: 3) as 'a component of speaker meaning that constitutes an aspect of what is *meant* in a speaker's utterance without being part of what is *said*.'

neutral future form *-la*. Whereas *-la* can be used with essentially any verb, *-te/-i* can only be used as a main verb in with agentive/volitional verbs, whose referent is in full control of whether he/she performs the action or not.[46]

The intentional mode fits tightly into the system of person-based implicatures, where 1st person reference is by default a statement, 2nd person reference (as well as 1st person inclusive plural, which includes the addressee) is by default a question, and 3rd person reference often involves an evidential or reported speech marker. If a clause with the intentional mode has 3rd person reference, it must also have the reported speech marker *[1]ro* which indicates that the speaker is relaying the intention of the 3rd person which that person has stated him/herself. Due to the fact that the form indicates intention on the part of the S/A argument to perform the action, the reported speech marker *[1]ro* must be used with 3rd person referents, presumably because the speaker cannot take responsibility for the intentions of a third party, and can only relay what he/she has been told. Some examples help to illustrate these implicatures:

3.120	- *[1]teŋ=i*	*[1]ni-i?*	- *[1]ni-i*
	upstairs.floor=LOC	go-INC?	- go-INC
	Are [you] going upstairs? [OR]		Yes, [I] am. [OR]
	Shall [we] go upstairs?		Yes, let's.

3.121	- *[2]airak=Ø*	*[2]thuŋ-te?*	- *[3]a-[2]thuŋ-Ø*
	- liquor=ABS	drink-INC?	- NEG-drink-FUT
	Are [you] about to drink liquor? [OR]		No.
	Do [you] want to drink liquor?		

[46] This restriction does not apply in inceptive constructions involving *-te/-i* with *[1]la*, where patientive/non-volitional verbs can be used, but these construcions are more aspectual than modal.

3.122 *[1]cya:-te*

look-INC

[We/I] will see. [‘Let’s see’.]

3.123 *[2]cyun=Ø* *[2]ci:=no* *[2]ʧi-i* *[1]ro*

little.bro=ABS here=FOC sit-INC REP

Little brother [says he] will stay here.

3.124 *[2]cat-te*

fight-INC

Let’s fight.

Rather than the ambivalence of the potential morpheme *-la* regarding one (ie.) perfective or habitual performance of the action, the intentional mode clearly indicates one occurrence and could be considered semelfactive (see Comrie 1976). Telic predicates (ie. achievements, semelfactives and active accomplishments) receive a perfective interpretation, while non-telic predicates (above all activities both lexical and phrasal) receive an inchoative reading. The distinction between future *-la* and inceptive *-te/-i* is neutralized in the negative, as neither can be used with a negative prefix, and it appears that the bare stem (which, as mentioned in section 3.3.8.1 can be analysed as having a zero suffix) is used for the negative in place of both *-la* and *-te/-i*.

3.4 Other word classes

In addition to nominals and verbal constructions, a number of other types of word classes exist in Tamang. Each of these classes raises interesting questions, and some of the classes (for instance ‘adverbs’ and ‘spatial forms’ which are structurally heterogeneous) might best be considered impressionistic at this stage of research. Addressing in detail the issues arising with each of the minor word classes introduced here would require devoting a lot of space to topics which are not

central to the research questions of this thesis (which concern grammatical relations), and have not been focal topics of the research. This section therefore serves as an overview and introduction to these classes rather than a comprehensive account. More detailed investigation of these topics would provide good material for further research.

3.4.1 Adverbs

Tamang possesses both adverbial lexemes and adverbial words derived from other parts of speech using the adverbializer *-le* (and less productively, the durative suffix *-ma* and sequential suffix *-si*). There are also several types of adverbial phrase, including those introduced by spatial cases (above all ablative and locative) and those which involve dependent verbal constructions; however these are discussed in later sections (spatial adverbs in sections 3.4.2 and 3.4.3, and adverbial clauses with dependent verbal constructions in section 7.5). Adverbs are relatively free in terms of their position in the clause, although those which give background information to the whole proposition and tend to be topical (such as temporal and spatial adverbs) often occur in the topical position at the start of the clause (see section 3.5.1), and manner adverbs whose scope is the predicate often occur in the focal position just before the verb.

Adverbial lexemes include temporal adverbs such as *[3]taŋke* 'now', *[3]tere* 'later', *[4]tolo* 'earlier', *[2]tini* 'today', *[2]tilma* 'yesterday', *[2]namsyo* 'tomorrow', *[2]ŋoyo* 'the day before yesterday', *[2]reːni* 'the day after tomorrow', *[3]kuriŋ* 'next year' etc., as well as demonstrative adverbials (see section 3.4.2) and other spatial forms (see section 3.4.3). Some lexemes can be used as either spatial or temporal adverbs, for example *[4]ŋaccaŋ* 'in front, before', *[1]liccaŋ* 'behind, after'. There are also adverbial lexemes of manner such as *[4]cyap* 'together', *[2]phyalphyal* 'marching' etc.

The adverbializer suffix *-le* is used especially with adjectives (some of which themselves are derived from verbal lexemes, see section 3.2.5) to derive adverbs, for example:

3.125	*[3]cya-pa-le*	*[2]ʈi-u*	*[1]ya*
	be.good-NOMZ-ADV	sit-HORT	PART
	Stay well there, okay?		

A number of adverbial forms are also formed from non-adverbial lexemes suffixed with forms which are homophonous with the durative and sequential converbial morphemes *-ma* and *-si* (see section 7.3.1), for example *[3]cat-ma* (small-DUR) 'when we were children', *[2]kole-si* (slow-SEQ) 'slowly', *[2]kuʈi-si* (shut.up!-SEQ) 'silently, without talking'. This process does not appear to be very productive and it might be more appropriate to consider the relevant forms lexical items in their own right in the contemporary language rather than decomposable into separate morphemes.

It is worth noting that Tamang has fewer epistemic adverbs than English and standard European languages as more epistemic and modal information is imparted morphologically through verbal inflection (see sections 3.3.6 and 3.3.8).

3.4.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives (see Diessel 1999: 36) and spatial deictic forms (see Levinson 1983: chapter 2) in Tamang are built on five deictic 'bases': *[2]cu* centred on the speaker, *[2]u* centred on the addressee, and *[1]kya*, *[1]to*, and *[1]ma* which indicate locations somewhat distant from both the speaker and addressee, and situated at roughly the same altitude, a higher altitude and a lower altitude respectively. Demonstrative systems involving 'environmental forms' (that is, forms such as *[1]kya*, *[1]to* and *[1]ma*, whose use is determined by aspects of the environment in which an utterance takes place - see Bickel 1994) are quite common in Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalaya (see Ebert 1999; Watters 2002: 129-136; Hyslop 2011: 282-285 *inter alia* for accounts of similar systems). The base morphemes described above are used as the roots of the demonstrative determiners ('this' etc.) and a large number of other demonstrative terms, generally in quite regular paradigms. Also interacting with this system are *[2]kha-* and *[4]ka-*, which are the base morphemes for many of the words for asking

content questions (see section 3.4.4). The set of demonstrative determiners derived from these is shown in Table 3.11. These forms are very often used with human referents instead of the 3rd person pronouns *[1]the* and *[1]thena* (singular and plural respectively). Other demonstrative and spatial deictic forms are made by adding various morphemes to the demonstrative determiners on an agglutinative pattern. This is a rich and perhaps still productive system, which is discussed in detail in Owen-Smith (2013).

[2]cu	*[2]ucu*	*[1]kyacu*	*[1]tocu*	*[1]macu*
this (near to speaker)	that (near to addressee)	that (distant from interlocutors, roughly same altitude)	that (distant from interlocutors, higher altitude)	that (distant from interlocutors, lower altitude)

Table 3.11: Demonstrative determiners

All demonstrative forms when used exophorically (that is, for new referents - see Diessel 1999: 94-5) have the full spatial force of their deictic base, for example:

3.126 *[1]tocu* *[1]ne:me=Ø* *[1]cya:-ko*
that.up bird=ABS look-HORT
Look at that bird!

3.127 *[1]kyacu=Ø* *[2]tai* *[3]hinla*
that.level=ABS what COPE.NPST
What is that?

3.128 *[2]ucu* *[4]lap=Ø* *[1]kyar* *[4]pit-o* *[1]le*
that bull=ABS across send-IMP PART
Send that bull across (the hillside) please!

When used with exophoric reference, Tamang demonstratives do not function as a discourse device as in languages such as English, where the proximal demonstrative *this* can be used exophorically as a discourse device for introducing new referents who will be pragmatically salient. However, the addressee-centred forms (built on the base *²u*) do have discourse-based pragmatic properties when used anaphorically to refer to an entity or place which is already activated in the discourse (see Diessel 1999: 95-100), as in the following example, in which the recipient of the money was already topical in the conversation:

3.129 *²ut = ta* *¹ʧaŋka = Ø* *¹pin-ci* *²ose?*
that = DAT money = ABS give-PFV so?
So did [you] give him/her (the) money?

Demonstrative (locative) adverbs (equivalent to English 'here', 'there') are etymologically derived from demonstrative determiners with the locative case marker *= i*, although they can be considered monomorphemic in a synchronic analysis. The demonstrative locative adverbs also have their full spatial reference when used exophorically:

3.130 *¹siŋ = Ø* *¹toci = se* *³pai-pa*
wood = ABS there.up = ABL bring.down-NOMZ
[We] bring down wood from up there.

3.131 *²ci:* *¹kho*
here come.HORT
Come here!

3.4.3 Spatial forms

Non-demonstrative spatial expressions constitute a somewhat heterogenous category, which includes forms which are lexically adverbial, as well as a set which appear to be derived from lexical nouns, which have a function similar to that of what Watters (2002: 136-8) refers to in Kham as 'relator nouns', indicating specific spatial information in relation to another nominal.

Purely adverbial spatial forms include a set of deictic forms which are constructed directly on the three 'environmental' deictic bases (see section 3.4.2). These are set out in Table 3.12.

[1]kyar	*[1]tor*	*[1]mar*
across	above	below

Table 3.12: Non-demonstrative deictic adverbials

While the deictic centre (see Levinson 1983: 64) of these forms is often by default the speech situation defined by the location of the interlocutors, it can also be fixed at different locations in a given instance of use. These forms differ in this regard from demonstrative deictic forms (see section 3.4.2), which must have the interlocutors as their deictic centre (see Owen-Smith 2013: 216-7). For instance, in example 3.132 below, the deictic centre for the adverbial *[1]tor* is the road, which has the role of the ground (see Bickel 1994), indicating that one should go uphill from that point, whereas in 3.133 with the demonstrative adverb *[1]toci*, the deictic centre is fixed at the location of the speech act.

3.132 *[4]kyam=se* *[1]tor* *[1]ni* *[1]to:-pa*
road=ABL above go be.necessary-NOMZ
You have to go uphill from the road.

3.133 *[4]kyam=se* *[1]toci* *[1]ni* *[1]to:-pa*

road=ABL there.up go be.necessary-NOMZ

You have to go up there from the road.

Somewhat more complex are the set of spatial terms which appear to be derived from lexical nouns, whose function as 'relator nouns' appears similar to a postpositional phrase in providing spatial information relative to another nominal. This group includes *[1]phe* 'above', *[3]kyap* 'behind', *[3]kuŋ* 'between', *[3]kaŋ* 'outside', *[3]naŋ* 'inside', *[4]ŋaccaŋ* 'infront', *[1]liccaŋ* 'behind', *[2]kyat* 'right', *[3]yom* 'left', *[2]chyo* 'side', *[4]kyam* 'through' (literally 'road').

The nominal origin of a number of these forms is evident from the fact that they typically stand as part (specifically, the head) of a possessive noun phrase, involving the genitive case *=ki* (see section 4.8). Standing as the final element of the NP, they can be immediately followed by a case marker, for example *[4]toŋpo=ki [3]kyap=se* (tree=GEN behind=ABL) 'from behind the tree', *[2]a=ki [2]kyat=se* (you=GEN right=ABL) 'from your righthand side'. The oblique cases which mark adjuncts and other oblique elements (ie. the ablative and locative cases - see section 6.1.6 for full explanation) can be used in these functions; direct cases, which mark direct arguments (ie. absolutive, ergative, patientive - see section 6.1.6) cannot be used. Relator noun constructions do not affect case relations, as at the clause level these construction still have the same role status of source (marked by ablative - see section 4.4.2), or location, destination or goal (marked by locative - see section 4.6) as NPs consisting of a simple noun: the relator noun simply provides more specific spatial information regarding the noun they relate to. For example, at the clause level, the phrase *[1]me=ki [2]chyo* in 3.134 is a locative-marked complement of the intransitive verb *[2]ʈi* (see section 5.3.2 for further discussion of complements of intransitive verbs).

3.134 *[1]me=ki* *[2]chyo=i* *[2]ʈi-u* *[1]le*

fire=GEN side=LOC sit-HORT PART

Please sit down by the fire!

It is possible to use some relator nouns without a connecting genitive case, for example:

3.135 *[1]sem* *[2]naŋ=i* *khusi* *[1]are*

heart inside=LOC happiness NEG.COPA.NPST

There is no happiness inside [my] heart.

See also example 4.18, where the relator noun *[4]kyam* 'road, path' is used with the ablative case *=se* to mean 'through'. Examples such as these appear to indicate that some relator noun constructions are developing into postpositions. Watters (2002: 137-8) notes similar tendencies in Kham, where relator nouns can frequently stand without possessive marking. Some relator nouns can also be used adverbially, for example:

3.136 *[4]ŋaccaŋ* *[4]pro*

infront walk.HORT

Walk infront!

3.137 *[4]kyap* *[1]mula* *wa*

behind COPA.NPST PART

Is [it] behind?

The English translations of these examples, in which words which typically stand as prepositions are used as adverbs, indicate that using adpositions as adverbs is not a particularly exotic feature of

Tamang. However, the development of functions and syntactic behaviour of relator nouns is interesting from a typological point of view, and merits further research.

3.4.4 Content question words

These are used in questions to ask for a certain piece of information. The most commonly used are the following:

[2]tai?	: what?
[2]tale?	: why?
[2]khala?	: who?
[2]khal=ki(-la)?	: whose?
[2]khacu?	: which?
[2]khacipa?	: how? (adnominal)
[2]khatle?	: how? (adverbial)
[2]khanto?	: where?
[4]kate?	: how much/many?
[2]khyaːma?	: when?

These words are all built on a few interrogative bases: *[2]ta* 'what', *[2]kha* 'which' (the interrogative counterpart of the demonstrative forms), *[2]khya:* 'when', and *[4]ka* (which appears to relate to quantity). Although the question words all constitute discrete lexemes, most (probably all except *[2]khala*) are transparently decomposable into their composite morphemes. They are syntactically atypical as they can be used alone, and as such are one of the rare classes of words which can constitute a felicitous speech act without a verb. If they are incorporated into sentences, they typically stand *in situ*, that is in the slot of the element they replace. In many cases, this will be in the pre-verbal focus position (see section 3.5.1), for example:

3.138 *ram = se* *²a = ta* *²tai = Ø* *¹pin-ci?*

Ram = ERG you = DAT what = ABS give-PFV?

What did Ram give you?

3.139 *²eː = Ø* *²khanto* *¹ni-ci?*

you = ABS where go-PFV?

Where did you go?

The word *²tale* 'why' differs from the other question words, in that it does not seek information about a particular element of the proposition, but about the proposition as a whole. As such, it does not replace the element of the sentence which is singled out for questioning, but rather stands as an interrogative adjunct to the existing architecture of a declarative clause. If the purpose of the whole proposition is questioned then *²tale* occurs in the pre-verbal focused position. If only a particular element of the proposition is questioned, this occurs in the pre-verbal focused position, and *²tale* occurs before this. For example:

3.140 *²ut = ta* *²airak = Ø* *²tale* *¹pin-takila?*

that = DAT liquor = ABS why give-PERF?

Why did [you] give him liquor? [Whole action questioned.]

3.141 *²ut = ta* *²tale* *²airak = Ø* *¹pin-takila?*

that = DAT why liquor = ABS give-PERF?

Why did [you] give him *liquor*?

[Only what the addressee gave is questioned. The implication is that the addressee could and should have given something else.]

There are other content question words which are used less frequently than those in the list above. All are part of the system of paradigms exemplified above. These are:

²kharaŋ?/ ²khaʧaŋ?	: how?
²kharaŋpa? ²khaʧaŋpa?[47]	: how? ((ad)nominal)
²kharaŋle? ²khaʧaŋle?	: how? (adverbial)
²khattempa?	: what kind of?
²khattumpa?	: how big?
²khatsopa?	: doing what?
²khattana?	: how many?

3.4.5 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns in Tamang are generally formed from the relevant content question word with the suffix *-e*. This may be related to the delimitative focus marker *=¹e*, which I will look at in more detail in section 3.5.2. The most commonly occurring indefinite pronouns are the following:

²tae	: something
²khale	: someone
²khante	: somewhere
²khya:me	: sometime

These are used as follows:

[47] The difference between the forms *²kharaŋpa/²khaʧaŋpa* and *²kharaŋle/²khaʧaŋle* appears that the former member of each pair is constructed directly on the interrogative base morpheme *²kha* while the latter of each pair is constructed on the interrogative word *²khacu* 'which', which stands as an adnominal or a pronominal in a sentence. Despite the different composition of the pairs of forms mentioned here, I have not been able to detect any significant difference in meaning, and their usage appears to be in free variation.

3.142 *[4]tim=i* *[2]khale=Ø* *[1]mula?*

house=LOC someone=ABS COPA.NPST

Is there anyone in the house?

3.143 *[2]lili* *[2]tae=Ø* *[3]so-la*

after something=ABS make-FUT

[We] will do something later.

These forms (or the simple question forms) can also be used with negative verbs to 'nothing', 'noone' etc. In these instances, the pronoun is often followed by the focus marker *=no.* For example:

3.144 *[4]tim=i* *[2]khala=Ø=no* *[1]are*

house=LOC who=ABS=FOC NEG.COPA.NPST

Noone is in the house.

3.145 *[2]ŋyine=m* *[2]tai=no* *[2]paŋ* *[3]a-[1]kham-pa*

we.EXCL.ERG=TOP what=FOC say NEG-be.able-NOMZ

We can't say anything.

3.4.6 Quantifiers

Tamang does not appear to have classifiers. There is a small class of quantifiers, including *[2]mahin* 'a lot, many', *[3]petle* 'a lot', *[3]cakki* 'a little bit', *[2]cek* 'a bit'. An approximative suffix *-te* can be used with explicit numbers and quantities to mean 'about, roughly' eg. *[4]som-te [4]pli-te* 'about three or four', *[3]cakki-te* 'a little bit'. The quantifier *[4]naŋ* appears to mean something like 'a measure of', and can be used for vessels (eg. *kap [4]naŋ [2]cya* 'a cup of tea') and handfuls, as well as kicks.

3.5 Information structure and pragmatics

Information structure (see Lambrecht 1994) plays an important role in Tamang grammar, and there are numerous strategies to focus, topicalize, foreground or background many elements of an utterance. It is information structure rather than syntactic relations which determine basic constituent order at the clause level: the first element of the clause is the most topical, and focused information occurs in a position immediately before the verb (see section 3.5.1). There is also freedom to manipulate word order, and the pragmatic effects of doing this are exploited in a number of ways to express different perspectives on a proposition.

Topical elements are frequently omitted in discourse, and Tamang exhibits a relatively low referential density (see Bickel 2003), a tendency which is referred to in some frameworks as 'pro-drop'. This is a salient feature of the language and I will mention it many times in this thesis. Although the language lacks verbal agreement, rather than consistent overt expression of argument reference through pronouns as in English, it frequently relies on a more economical system of conversational implicatures: declarative clauses by default refer to the 1st person, questions by default refer to the 2nd person, and clauses with 3rd person reference are often signalled by some evidential strategy such as the reported speech marker *ʲro* (see section 3.3.6.4) or an experiential form (see section 3.3.6.2).

Elements can be backgrounded by various strategies: non-topical participants by omission/suppression (see section 2.3), and predicates by using a nominalized form as a main verb (see section 3.5.3). The latter strategy is exotic from the perspective of well-studied European languages, however appears to be well-developed in Nakh-Daghestanian languages of the Caucasus (see Kalinina and Sumbatova 2007). The former strategy covers much the same ground as a morphological passive, and forms part of a set of strategies which can collectively be referred to as 'perspective' (see LaPolla 2003: 139-41), by which arguments can be backgrounded or foregrounded

without derivations such as the passive (which are dependent on sytacticized clausal relations), through variation in word order and omission of elements with low relevance to the communicative purpose (see section 6.3).

In addition, Tamang possesses a set of morphemes which overtly can encode the pragmatic status of a noun phrase or verbal predicate without altering case-marking, word order or clausal relations in any way (see section 3.5.2); and can focus a particular argument through an alternation between the attributive and equative copulas in auxiliary constructions (see section 3.5.4). A set of attitude particles which express the speaker's attitude to the utterance as a whole can only occur in sentence-final position (see section 3.5.5).

3.5.1 Constituent order

At the clause level Tamang is generally head-final, usually ending with the predicate. The primary factor determining the order of phrases in the Tamang clause is not syntactic structure but information structure. The first element of the clause is topical, and focused information occurs immediately before the verb. As agents tend to be topical and patients focal (see DuBois 1987), it follows that the most common word order for a simple transitive clause is APV (Agent-Patient-Verb). The pragmatic effects of word order are also exploited in clauses with non-verbal predicates (see section 5.1), for instance to distinguish between existential and locative clauses. Adverbs and adverbial phrases are the most versatile constituents in terms of word order, and their position generally depends on how topical or focal a role they play in the clause (with clause-initial position often used for topical adverbs such as temporals or locatives). Attitude particles can only occur in sentence-final position.

The flexibility of word order is one piece of evidence indicating that in Tamang there is no verb phrase (VP) which exists as a constituent including the patient-like argument while excluding the

agent-like argument.[48] Rather, the language allows scrambling of constituents (see Karimi 2003) at the clause level, and has a flat clause structure. Furthermore, there is no condition of adjacency between a verb and its patient, and retrievable patients can be omitted just as easily as agents can. Although the language makes use of case morphemes to mark clausal relations, their use is far from being syntactically regularized. As discussed in chapter 2, the concepts of subject and object as they are often used in formal frameworks are not especially useful for analysis of Tamang.

Foley (2007: 404) remarks that 'typically, a sentence expresses a comment about some entity'. This entity is usually presupposed (ie. known to both the speaker and addressee) and is referred to as the 'topic'. A section of the comment is also typically presupposed; the section which is not, and provides new information is referred to as the 'focus' of the clause (see Lambrecht 1994; Foley 2007 for futher discussion). In one-participant clauses with canonical word order, the argument is topical and verb itself typically constitutes the comment and focus of the clause; while in two-participant clauses (transitive or otherwise, see section 5.3) the focus occurs immediately before the verb. The situation can be considered analogous in equative and attributive clauses (see section 5.1.2), where the focus appears directly before the copula. These tendencies entail that the most usual word order in Tamang main clauses is as follows:

One-participant clause: **S** (= Topic) **V** (= Comment)
(= Focus)

3.146 *[2]cyun = Ø* *[3]mer-cim*
little.bro = ABS sleep-EXPER
Little brother has fallen asleep.

[48] Another important piece of evidence is the fact that there is no consistent pivot between dependent and main clauses equivalent to the 'subject' relation. Rather, dependent clauses exihibit different types of relationships with the main clause, some based on pivots and others not (see chapter 7).

Two-participant clause: **A** (= Topic) **P** (= Comment) **V** (= Comment)
(= Focus)

3.147 *[2]cyun = se* *[2]cyot = ta* *[1]to-ci*
little.bro = ERG big.bro = PAT strike-PFV
Little brother hit big brother.

Equative clause: **S** (= Topic) **Complement** (= Comment) **Copula** (= Comment)
(= Focus)

3.148 *[3]ro = Ø* *[1]tamaŋ* *[3]hinla*
friend = ABS Tamang COPE.NPST
He is Tamang.

Evidence that topicality rather than case status determines constituent order is provided by the position of the participants associated with inverse verbs (see section 5.3.3). Such clauses are analogous to similar constructions which are common in Himalayan and South Asian languages (and across much of Indo-European) and which are frequently referred to as 'dative subjects' or 'experiencer subjects' in work on South Asian languages (see Verma and Mohanan 1990), where the participant which is lower on the referential hierarchy (see section 2.5) holds a privileged syntactic position (eg. controlling verb agreement, marked in the case normally associated with grammatical subjects) while the participant higher on the hierarchy, which is normally considered more agentive and more likely to be syntactically privileged, is oblique. However, the relationship between the referential hierarchy and topicality entails that in Tamang the argument higher up the hierarchy regularly occurs in the clause-initial topical position, even though it is marked with an oblique case (dative) and while the lower participant is privileged by the fact that not overtly marked. For example:

Inverse clause: **COMP** (= Topic) **S** (= Comment) **V** (= Comment)
(= Focus)

3.149 *[1]ŋa = ta* *[2]ki = Ø* *[1]phi:-ci*
I = DAT water = ABS rise-PFV
I am thirsty. [Literally: 'Thirst rose to me'.]

The fact that focal question words such as *[2]tai?* 'what?', *[2]khya:ma?* 'when?' occur *in situ* (ie. in the same pre-verbal position as the focal element that they replace) is further evidence of the primacy of information structure in determining word order. For example:

Two-participant question: **A** (= Topic) **P** (= Comment) **V** (= Comment)
(= Focus)

3.150 *[2]a = se* *[2]tai = Ø* *[1]mraŋ-ci*
you = ERG what = ABS see-PFV
What did you see?

3.151 *[2]ane* *[2]tai = Ø* *sos [1]ti-pa*
you.PL.ERG what = ABS think-NOMZ
What do you lot think?

Ditransitive clauses follow the same basic tendencies about position of topic and focus: the focus appears in pre-verbal position and the topic either in initial position, or occasionally in the postposed position.

Ditransitive clause: **A** (= Topic) **G** (= Comment) **T** (= Comment) **V** (= Comment) (= Focus)

3.152 *²cyun = se* *²cyot = ta* *¹ʈaŋka = Ø* *¹pin-ci*
little.bro = ERG big.bro = DAT money = ABS give-PFV
Little brother gave big brother (some) money.

Or: **A** (= Topic) **T** (= Comment) **G** (= Comment) **V** (= Comment) (= Focus)

3.153 *²cyun = se* *¹ʈaŋka = Ø* *²cyot = ta* *¹pin-ci*
little.bro = ERG money = ABS big.bro = DAT give-PFV
Little brother gave the money to big brother [ie. not to anybody else].

While Topic-Focus-Predicate can be considered the most common word order for transitive clauses, there are two main alternations to word order which reflect pragmatic status:

i) the predicate can be focused by placing it in the initial position of the clause
ii) if an argument is highly topical it can be placed behind the verb

In a one-participant clause, the consequences of either of these alternations are that the order of the verb and its argument are reversed. The argument occurs in the postverbal topical position and seems an afterthought. For example:

Postposed topic (intransitive clause): **Verb** (=Focus) **S** (=Topic)

3.154 *[1]ni-ci* *[2]ucu=Ø*
go-PFV that=ABS
Him, he left.

3.155 *[[2]tai=Ø* *[1]ta-cim?]* *[2]paŋ-ci* *[1]ŋye*
[what=ABS happen-PFV] say-PFV I.ERG
"What happened?" I said

These alternations, combined with clause-initial topic and pre-verbal focus positions which can be occupied by either argument, also entail that, in theory, all six word orders are possible for simple transitive clauses, although it is likely that the speaker would simply omit arguments which were of high topicality. Therefore the English sentence 'I saw you' could, in theory, be expressed in any of the following ways[49] depending on the pragmatic context (which may allow for two topics):[50]

Basic order:

3.156 *[1]ŋye [2]a=ta [1]mraŋ-ci* **A** (=Topic) - **P** (=Focus) - **V**

Topical patient, contrastive focus on A:

3.157 *[2]a=ta [1]ŋye [1]mraŋ-ci* **P** (=Topic) - **A** (=Focus) - **V**

[49] All are accepted as grammatical by language consultants.

[50] For more examples of the freedom of word order, see the text in the Appendix.

Postposed topical A:

3.158 *²a=ta ¹mraŋ-ci ¹ŋye* **P** - **V** - **A** (=Topic)

Postposed topical P:

3.159 *¹ŋye ¹mraŋ-ci ²a=ta* **A** - **V** - **P** (=Topic)

Fronted focused verb:

3.160 *¹mraŋ-ci ¹ŋye ²a=ta* **V** (=Focus) - **A** (=Topic) - **P** (=Topic)

3.161 *¹mraŋ-ci ²a=ta ¹ŋye* **V** (=Focus) - **P** (=Topic) - **A** (=Topic)

Reversal of the arguments as in example 3.157 generally indicates contrastive focus on the agent, while both of the verb-fronted orders 3.160 and 3.161 indicate that the predicate is focused while the arguments are topical. The pragmatics of 3.158 and 3.159 could be affected by prosody: stress on the pre-verbal argument indicates that it is focal (and the pre-verbal focus overrides the clause-initial topic), whereas stress on the verb indicates that it is focal (and therefore the clause-initial topic overrides the pre-verbal focus). Variations in word order frequently have consequences for case-marking, which indicates various types of semantic and pragmatic (as well as, sometimes, syntactic) information. The theoretical array of word order alternations would be even more complicated for ditransitive clauses. But the range of potential options can be summarized by saying that if the speaker wishes to lower the topicality of an argument, he/she will place it after the verb, and if he/she wishes to focus the verb above all other elements of the clause, he/she will place the verb to the beginning of the clause.

The various possibilities for word order, and interaction of this with case-marking, can be considered as part of a strategy which I refer to as 'perspective', by which Tamang speakers can manipulate the pragmatic status and discourse prominence of various elements of a clause without structures such as passive or antipassive which rely on syntactic relations. Case-marking being one of the main topics of this thesis, I will consider its role in perspective later in section 6.3.

3.5.2 Information structure markers

Although case markers can be used with pragmatic functions in Tamang (see section 6.3), there is also a set of morphemes whose meanings are strictly pragmatic, and which do not affect clausal relations. Mazaudon (2003b: 147) writes that similar set of morphemes in the Risiangku dialect of Tamang 'are used to express the information structure of the sentence without changing its grammatical structure: case-marking and word order can remain unchanged'. The use of these morphemes appears fully independent of case markers and both case and information structure markers can be used on the same argument. They can be used on both nominal and verbal roots, whereas case markers can only be used on verbal lexemes if they are nominalized and therefore behave as nouns (see introduction to chapter 2). The information structure markers in the Indrawati Khola dialect of Tamang are as follows:[51]

Morpheme	Meaning	Gloss
=⁴ca	contrastive topic	CTOP
=m/=mi	topic	TOP
=¹e	delimitative focus	only
=no	focus	FOC

Table 3.13: Information structure markers

Information structure markers all follow the noun phrase whose status they mark, however their status as suffixes, clitics or independent words is somewhat more problematic than that of case morphemes (which are all clitics, see section 4.2) due to the fact that two of them, *=⁴ca* and *=¹e*,

[51] The Risiangku dialect has a set of morphemes which carry out similar functions, however their forms are quite different (see Mazaudon 2003b).

bear tone (see section 3.1.2). *=m/=mi* has two allomorphs whose variation appears to be conditioned by phonotactics: *=m* is used after elements ending in vowels and *=mi* after elements ending in consonants.

Most of the information structure morphemes follow case markers (see section 3.2.1), however *=⁴ca* (in spite of the fact that it appears to have its own tone) has a particularly intimate relationship with nouns as it precedes the case-marking clitics, even in instances where the case marker has fused with the noun or pronoun in the pragmatically neutral form (see section 3.2.3). So while 'father' in the ergative case is *¹pape* (father.ERG), a topicalised father in the ergative is *¹pap=⁴ca=se* (father=CTOP=ERG), and while a first person agent is *¹ŋye* (I.ERG), a topicalized first person agent is *¹ŋa=⁴ca=se* (I=CTOP=ERG). The fact that this morpheme displays both qualities which would suggest it is an independent word and qualities which indicate a highly bound morphological status raises a number of questions around the definition of words in this dialect of Tamang, which are too complex to address in detail in this thesis.

In terms of meaning, *=m/=mi* marks a topical element and *=⁴ca* marks an element which is both topical and contrasted in some way to an equivalent element (either an argument or predicate) in the recent discourse. *=¹e* puts delimitative focus on the element which it marks. The best translation in English is 'only', while *=no* can either follow the element directly giving an intensifying meaning (the best English translation might be 'even' or 'also' but in many cases it simply emphasizes the word, which might be done in English with intonation and stress on the word),

Certain combinations of information structure markers are also possible - and while it appears that the two markers *=m/=mi* and *=no* which do not carry their own tone can follow *=⁴ca* and *=¹e* which do, the two tonal morphemes cannot combine with each other. The combinations which I have encountered are as follows. The explanations of meaning are really only approximations, as the

actual meanings of these forms in combination appear very subtle. As mentioned above, case-marking occurs after *=⁴ca*.

*=⁴ca[=*case*]=m*	: highly topical
*=⁴ca[=*case*]=no*	: emphatic contrast
*[=*case*]=e=no*	: emphatic delimitative focus

Table 3.14: Combinations of information structure markers

The use of the markers on nouns can be seen in the following examples (for more examples, see the Appendix):

3.162 *ram=cyappa=⁴ca=Ø* *¹liccaŋ* *¹ni-la* *¹ro*

Ram=COLL=**CTOP**=ABS after go-FUT REP

Ram and the rest [say they] will go later.

[Note: This is pragmatically appropriate if the speaker and addressee are planning to go now, therefore Ram and co's status is in contrast to this.]

3.163 *¹am=⁴ca=se=m* *²tai=Ø=no* *³a-²paŋ-ni*

mother=**CTOP**=ERG=**TOP** what=ABS=FOC NEG-say-PFV

Mother for her part said nothing.

3.164 *¹ŋyila=m* *¹sem=Ø=mi* *²ot=¹e=no* *³hinla*

I.GEN.PRON=**TOP** heart=ABS=**TOP** that=**only**=**FOC** COPE.NPST

That is all I want. ['Literally: my desire is that much'].

3.165 *[1]ŋyin-ni=Ø* *[2]e:=Ø=**no*** *[3]a-pur-Ø*

we.EXCL-two=ABS you=ABS=**FOC** NEG-take.away-FUT

[2]a=ki *[1]nana=Ø=**no*** *[3]a-[3]pur-Ø* *[3]cem*

you=GEN sister=ABS=**FOC** NEG-take.away-FUT therefore

So we won't take you or your sister.

To indicate topical verbs, the particles can be used in a construction which involves a reduplication of the verb stem (see section 3.3.3). The first stem is followed by one or two pragmatic markers (often the contrastive topic and focus markers together), and the second stem is the fully inflected verb. When the stem is followed by the topic marker, the speaker is acknowledging that something is true, but one can expect that he/she will then qualify it by another clause which will affect that the status of the topic clause in some way. For example:

3.166 *[1]kha=**[4]ca=no*** *[1]kha-la* *tara* *[2]mahin* *samai* *[3]a-[2]ʈi-Ø*

come=**CTOP=FOC** come-FUT but very time NEG-sit-FUT

Yes [I]'ll come but [I] won't stay long.

3.167 *[3]se:=**[4]ca=no*** *[3]se:-pa* *[3]pileno* *[3]cyapa-le* *[3]a-[3]se:-pa*

know=**CTOP=FOC** know-NOMZ but good-ADV NEG-know-NOMZ

Yes [I] know [him] but not very well.

3.5.3 Backgrounding of predicates with non-finite forms

As mentioned in section 3.3.5, main verbs in Tamang can be divided between foregrounded verbs and verbal constructions which are generally inflected for TAME, and backgrounded verbs which are inflected with a nominalized (ie. a typically non-finite form). The latter are used in discourse for the predicates of highly presupposed (see Lambrecht 1994: 52) states of affairs, for instance in content and pole questions, answers to questions, in reiterating information, as a stage setter, and in

clauses where an argument is strongly focused. Similar profiles have been noted in other Tibeto-Burman languages. Discussing Kham, Watters (2002: 351-70) proposes that nominalized forms highlight 'discontinuity' of the proposition from the surrounding discourse. Bickel (1999a) notes that in Belhare nominalized main verbs are used for contrastive focus of the whole clause, which also indicates that the proposition is presupposed in some way. This feature has also been noted in Nepali (see Owen-Smith 2013). Kalinina and Sumbatova (2007) also remark that non-finite forms are used in a similar way in several Nakh-Daghestanian languages in the Caucasus.[52]

Two (usually) non-finite forms can be used as main verbs: the nominalized form in *-pa* and the perfect nominalized form in *-pakila*. The former appears to be unspecified with regard to tense and aspect, and is interpreted according to the context of the surrounding disourse, tempered by the aspectual semantics of the predicate itself.[53] Although it appears that the neutral form can be used for any kind of time reference or aspect, the form in *-pakila* imparts a strong sense of telicity and perfectivity. It appears likely that this usage of primarily non-finite forms as main verbs developed by omitting the copula from the auxiliary constructions formed of the nominalized form and copula (see section 3.3.7), although we do not have diachronic data to verify this hypothesis. But although the forms are morphologically identical to nominals, it appears that in the contemporary language they are understood as verbs, as when they are used to predicate a transitive clause, both arguments can take case-marking according to the (semantic, pragmatic, and partially syntacticized) principles which apply in main clauses, indicating that the clause does have a main verb. The negative is formed simply by adding the negative prefix *[3]a-* before the nominalized form, however the negative does not appear to be used with the perfect form.

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[52] There seem to be many parallels between the typological profiles of Himalayan and Caucasian languages. Bickel and Nichols (2003) note that the languages of these regions display unusually high instances of typologically rare features such as very high levels of morphological synthesis, polypersonal agreement on verbs, complex systems of evidentiality, bipartite verb stems, radical double marking, and multiple classes for possessive marking. The discourse-specific use of nominalized or typically non-finite forms as main verbs could perhaps be added to this list.

[53] The nominalizer morpheme is also used for the past forms of the copulas *[1]mu* and *[3]hin* (*[1]mupa* and *[3]hinta* respectively). These forms indicate both past time and a general situation, while the non-past copula forms *[1]mula* and *[3]hinla* have a more immediate relationship to the time of speaking.

Some examples of nominalized main verbs are as follows. The uses concentrate around the types of presupposed states of affairs mentioned above, which are already topical in the discussion. Therefore focus often falls on an argument.

3.168 - *[1]kan=Ø* *[1]ca-ci?* - *[1]ca-si* *[1]kha-pa.*

- rice=ABS eat-PFV? - eat-SEQ come-NOMZ

- Have [you] eaten? - [We] ate before we came.

3.169 - *[2]airak=Ø* *[2]thuŋ-pa?* - *[3]a-[2]thuŋ-pa*

- liquor=ABS drink-NOMZ - NEG-drink-NOMZ

Do [you want to] drink liquor? [No, I won't] drink.

3.170 *[1]mar* *indiya=i* *mahina-wari* *hoʈel=i* *[1]kan=Ø* *[1]ca-pa*

below India=LOC month-around hotel=LOC rice=ABS eat-NOMZ

Down in India month by month we used to eat in a hotel [when already talking about eating].

3.171 *[2]cu=Ø* *[3]cya-pa*

this=ABS good-NOMZ

This is good (not that one).

3.172 *[2]ucu* *[1]tam=Ø* *paile* *[2]ŋyan=se* *[3]seː-pa*

that word=ABS before time=ABL know-NOMZ

[I]'ve known that for ages!

As mentioned above, the use of the perfect nominalized form imparts a stronger sense of perfective action. When used as a main verb rather than in an auxiliary construction, the meaning of *-pakila* is more past rather than perfect.

3.173 *[2]ŋoyo* *[3]to:-pakila*
day.before.yesterday arrive-PERF
[We] arrived the day before yesterday.

3.174 *[3]camma=Ø=no* *[1]ca-pakila*
all=ABS=FOC eat-PERF
[They] have eaten all (of it).

3.175 *[2]cu* *[4]tim=Ø* *[2]yuŋpu=se* *[3]so-pakila*
this house=ABS stone=ABL make-PERF
This house is made from stone.

The use of nominalized forms interacts with other functions related to information structure, such as omission of topical elements and manipulation of word order. It appears that the forms are often used when patient arguments are focal, although there are instances when agents are focal too. These forms are an interesting part of Tamang grammar which requires more research, both with regard to the precise usage and the categorical status of the forms, which is difficult to comfortably classify either as verbal or as nominal.

3.5.4 Argument focus in equative auxiliary constructions

As discussed in section 3.3.7, auxiliary constructions involving a nominalized form of the predicate and the copula *[1]mu* are used for clauses with habitual, progressive and perfect aspect in the present

and past. It is possible to focus an argument of such clauses by using the equative copula *[3]hin* as auxiliary instead. For example:

3.176	*[2]cyun = Ø*	*[1]kha-pakila*	*[3]hinla*
	little.bro = ABS	come-PERF	COPE.NPST
	Little brother is the one who has come.		

This construction achieves a similar pragmatic effect to cleft constructions in English (see Payne 1997: 278-81), however Tamang does not require a cleft for the focused constituent, as its focal status (although it is in the topical clause-initial position) is indicated by using the equative copula rather than the usual attributive copula. The alternation between the two copulas in these constructions is interesting, as it has close parallels with the way that they are used with nominal and other non-verbal predicates (see section 5.1). If the attributive copula is used, the meaning is simply 'little brother has come'. The use of the equative copula imparts contrastive focus, emphasizing that is little brother who has arrived as opposed to someone else. The former can be analysed as expressing something about little brother (ie. equivalent to an attribute) while the latter can be considered to express the most important thing about little brother in the current discourse context (ie. singling out one property and equating him to that).

The copular alternation also emphasizes the resemblance of the nominalized predicate to a true nominal. It appears highly possible that at an earlier stage in the development of the auxiliary construction, the nominalized predicate actually did stand as a nominal and the construction was closer to some kind of copular clause.[54] However in the contemporary language it appears that the auxiliary constructions are understood as fully verbal, as both arguments of a transitive construction can be marked for case (eg. *[1]ʈasi = se [1]ŋa = ta [2]puŋ-pano [1]mula* (Tasi = ERG I = PAT hit-PROG

[54] For a discussion of the development of verbal constructions involving nominalized forms across Tibeto-Burman, see DeLancey 2011a.

COP.NPST) 'Tasi is hitting me'), which is not possible in copular constructions. However, the restriction of case-marking in some clauses with *[3]hin* appears to indicate that this is closer to a copular construction rather than an auxiliary construction. Furthermore, in the construction with *[3]hin* the argument can stand in the position just before the copula, which is not possible in the *[1]mu* construction, where the nominalized predicate and auxiliary must be adjacent. For example:

3.177 *[[2]noŋ-pakila]=Ø* *[2]cu* *[3]hinla*
[break-PERF]=ABS this COPE.NPST
This is the broken one.

If an argument of a transitive clause appears in the position infront of the copula, it cannot be marked for case, for example:

3.178 *[[2]cyun=Ø* *[2]puŋ-pakila]=Ø* *[1]ŋa* *[3]hinla*
[little.bro=ABS beat-PERF]=ABS I COPE.NPST
I am the one who beat little brother.

3.179 *[[1]ŋye* *[2]puŋ-pakila]=Ø* *[2]cyun* *[3]hinla*
[I.ERG beat-PERF] little.bro COPE.NPST
Little brother is the one who I beat up.

Constructions such as these certain appear more like equative clauses (see section 5.1.2), where the nominalized form is equated to the NP before the copula. It appears that the nominalized verb governs its own dependent clause (marked by square brackets) but stands as a noun in the main clause, much in the same way as headless relative clauses/argument clauses (see section 7.7.2). These examples indicate that constructions in Tamang involving nominalized verbs are at different

stages of grammaticalization towards verbal constructions, with some retaining more properties of nominals than others.

3.5.5 Attitude particles

In addition to the functions related to information structure outlined in the previous sections, Tamang also posseses particles which express aspects of the speaker's attitude or some other information regarding the sentence as a whole.[55] These particles always occur at the end of a sentence and have scope over the whole sentence. Such particles are common in other languages of the region, for instance in Yolmo (see Hari 2010: 96-8) and Nepali (see Acharya 1991: 142-4), and typically have very subtle and nuanced meanings. The precise meanings of the relevant particles in Tamang still require more research, but I will give a short explanation of them here:[56]

[1]wa	: solicits response from the speaker
[1]ano	: contrastive
[2]ka	: emphatic focus marker
[1]ya	: request for consent
[1]e	: emphatic verb focus
[1]le	: politeness or supplicative marker

[1]wa solicits a response from the addressee, and could be seen as a kind of tag question marker. The semantics may vary according to participant: if the speaker is asking the addressee, he/she may genuinely be asking for the information, wheras if the verb has 1st person reference, the speaker may just be seeking for a mark of assent from the addressee.

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[55] The reported speech marker *[1]ro* (see section 3.3.6.4), which also occurs only in sentence-final position, could also perhaps be considered as a member of this set.

[56] I gloss all of the particles simply as PART as it is difficult to find precise and succinct glosses for each morpheme at this stage.

3.180 *[2]eː=Ø* *[1]kha-la* *[1]wa?*

you=ABS come-FUT PART?

Will you come?

3.181 *ramailo* *[1]ta-ci* *[1]wa*

pleasant happen-PFV PART

[We] had fun didn't we?

[1]ano is used when the speaker wishes to assert a proposition more strongly than usual, and most likely to contradict someone who has said otherwise. For example:

3.182 *[2]tini* *[1]kha-la* *[1]ano*

today come-FUT PART

[He] *will* come today.

[2]ka emphasizes the whole utterance and might be translated into English as something like 'you know'. It appears to be used for something considered general knowledge, which should be obvious.

3.183 *[3]muntu* *[1]khaŋ-pa* *[2]ka*

night be.cold-NOMZ PART

[I] get cold at night!

[1]ya is used when the speaker wants the addressee to give his assent/agreement to a proposition which could take place. It can be used with orders or future utterances.

3.184 *²yoːna* *²thuŋ-o* *¹ya*

quickly drink-HORT PART

Drink quickly okay?

3.185 *²ŋyase* *¹kha-la* *¹ya*

evening come-FUT PART

[I'll] come in the evening okay?

The meaning of sentence-final *¹e* is also emphatic regarding the proposition, but it is not contradictory like *¹ano*, in fact it is more likely to be used to repeat and agree with something that someone else has said. When it occurs after morphemes ending in /a/ it fuses with that vowel, so the nominalized and future forms become *-pe* and *-le* respectively.

3.186 *³a-¹la-pe*

NEG-do-NOMZ.PART

No [he] won't (do that)!

3.187 *¹ŋa=Ø* *¹ni-ci* *¹e*

I=ABS go-PFV PART

I'm leaving hey!

¹le imparts an immediacy to a hortative request (that is, an imperative) which can either relate to politeness or impatience (much the same way as *please* in English).

3.188 *²yoːna* *¹kho* *¹le*

quickly come.HORT PART

Come quickly please!

4. Case morphemes

As noted in chapter 3, Tamang is a dependent-marking language (see Nichols 1986), where grammatical relations are indicated by case morphemes which are cliticized to the right edge of noun phrases. However, the assignment of case markers in Tamang is often determined by semantic and pragmatic factors rather than syntactic ones. In this way Tamang appears to stand mid-way on the spectrum of case profiles of Tibeto-Burman languages, at one end of which languages such as Kham (see Watters 2002), Yakkha (Schackow 2014) and other Kiranti languages display strongly syntactic case-marking based either on generalized patterns related to NP reference or invariable case frames governed by the predicate; and at the other end of which languages such as Meithei (see Chelliah 1997) appear to have no syntactic case relations, but case-marking patterns which are determined wholly by semantics and pragmatics.

In this chapter, I will introduce the Tamang case morphemes, which will feature prominently in discussions in later chapters. I will then give a full overview of the various types of main clause structure in chapter 5, before considering the patterns which can be discerned regarding case-marking, alignment and perspective in chapter 6. As Silverstein (1976, 1981) notes, in many languages case-marking patterns in dependent clauses differ from those in main clauses. In Tamang, some types of dependent clause (eg. relative clauses) display different case-marking patterns from main clauses, while other types of dependent clause (eg. converbial clauses) have the same patterns as main clauses. I will discuss case-marking in dependent clauses in chapter 7, which will also cover cross-clausal relations, including patterns of control, pivothood and anaphora across clauses.

4.1 The mixed nature of Tamang case

Profiles involving mixed syntacticized and non-syntactic case-marking have been discussed in some of Tamang's close relatives, for instance Central Tibetan (Tournadre 1991) and Kurtöp (Hyslop 2011), which like Tamang are classified in the Bodish group of Tibeto-Burman (see Shafer 1955). In

these languages, certain instances of case assignment appear to be essentially compulsory (governed) while others reflect certain semantic or pragmatic considerations that the speaker wishes to express.

Such patterns are quite substantially different from the case profiles typical of well-studied language families of Eurasia such as Indo-European, where case assignment is based on syntactic principles, albeit tempered by particularities of the lexicon (a good example being Latin, see Blake 2004: 5-6). Bickel (1999b: 2) makes a case that argument-predicate relations in Sino-Tibetan languages operate on quite a different principle from Indo-European, remarking:

> event-framing in Indo-European strongly integrates NPs into clause structure, resulting in high overall NP-density, whereas Sino-Tibetan principles of event framing tend to dissociate NPs and verbs, which correlates with low NP-density.

The relatively loose relationship between a predicate and its arguments which Bickel proposes as typical of Sino-Tibetan languages might help to explain both Tamang's tendency towards frequent omission of arguments (discussed in section 2.3), and the syntactic autonomy of arguments from the predicate which is reflected in the mixed patterns of case-marking. Tamang case patterns do not fit perfectly into traditional concepts of rection or government, where the predicate specifies one case for each participant. Although certain relations do govern a specific case (for instance absolutive for T arguments, dative for G arguments, and absolutive for a large class of S arguments), many involve a frame which allows a choice of two cases, either absolutive (with no overt, or zero marking) or an overtly marked case. Furthermore, as certain cases (above all the ergative) have pragmatic functions, it appears that there is some overlap between the functions of case markers and the set of information structure markers introduced in section 3.5.2. I will discuss these topics in more detail in chapter 6.

4.2 Overview of case morphology

This and the following sections will introduce the Tamang case morphemes. I mostly use traditional case terminology, with the caveat that the use of these labels is essentially a generalization indicating that a given case has certain qualities in common with the diverse case morphemes in other languages which have been given the same title, and may exhibit behaviour which is more typical or less typical of the prototypical example of that case. Each of the Tamang cases has certain characteristics which diverge to varying extents from the prototypical behaviour of a case usually designated by the category I have chosen. I have therefore given a lot of thought to the most appropriate title for each case, and where appropriate will justify why I have used a particular term.

The Tamang dialect spoken in the valley of the Indrawati Khola can be analysed as having a total of six case forms but eight case morphemes, as two sets of cases are homophonous. All are generally agglutinative and clitic (see section 3.2.1), and are placed after the final element of a noun phrase usually without causing any change to the form of the element, although as discussed in sections 3.2.3 and 3.2.4 there are some tendencies to fusional case-marking in personal pronouns and certain nouns. Limited compounding of some cases is possible (specifically locative and ablative - see section 4.6). The full forms of case suffixes are atonal, and carry the tone of the phonological word (see Mazaudon 1973: 48) which is determined by the word's first syllable.

The cases are as follows:

Case	Morpheme	Abbreviation
absolutive	*=Ø*	ABS
ergative	*=se* / (*-e)*	ERG
ablative	*=se* / (*-e)*	ABL
patientive	*=ta*	PAT
dative	*=ta*	DAT
locative	*=i*	LOC
comitative	*=then*	COM
genitive	*=ki*	GEN

Table 4.1: Case morphemes

The absolutive, ergative, ablative, patientive, dative, and locative cases operate at clause level. The comitative and genitive most typically mark relations between nouns in a noun phrase, although the comitative *=then* could perhaps be analysed as marking clausal relations according to the case requirements of a small number of verbs. However, in these instances it could also be analysed simply as a coordinator of two noun phrases into a single noun phrase, akin to 'and'. The types of participant for which the various cases can be used are shown in the following table:

Morpheme	Case(s)	Can be used with:		
		Direct arguments (S, A, P, T)	Oblique participants (G and complements)	Adjuncts
=Ø	absolutive	x		
=se / (*-e)*	ergative	x		
=se / (*-e)*	ablative		(marginal)	x
=ta	patientive	x		
=ta	dative		x	x
=i	locative		x	x

Table 4.2: Use of case morphemes on NPs

Direct arguments can have no overt marking (which I analyse as a zero form, see section 4.3). The forms *=se* and *=ta* can be used on direct arguments as well as oblique elements. However, we can propose that these forms each represent two homophonous morphemes (ergative/ablative and patientive/dative respectively), which can be distinguished by differences in their usage: the use of ergative and patientive varies with absolutive (*=Ø*) on direct arguments, while ablative and dative are only used on oblique elements and do not vary with other cases. This distinction is based on differences in syntactic behaviour, however the direct and non-direct case functions of forms *=se* and *=ta* can be considered to have unitary semantics, which can be loosely characterized as 'source' (see section 4.4.3), and 'affected' respectively (see section 4.5.3). These unitary semantics are discussed in more detail in section 6.5, where I will propose an analysis for alignment in Tamang based on a 'trajectory model' (see Tournadre 1994), in which the forms *=se* and *=ta* can be analysed as supercases.

I will now present each case in more detail. The descriptions of each case morpheme include the types of participant for which the relevant morpheme can be used in the various types of main clause, which are presented in chapter 5. These descriptions refer to the uses of case morphemes in the main types of one-participant, two-participant and three-participant clauses.[57]

4.3 Absolutive case: *=Ø*

The absolutive case is morphologically the simplest case in Tamang: it does not have an overt morpheme and is identical to the citation form of nouns. I propose that it is represented by a zero morpheme based on its paradigmatic opposition to the other cases which are encoded by overt morphemes. The absolutive can be used under the following circumstances:[58]

[57] In the interest of space I do not refer in this chapter to all types of clause which are discussed in chapter 6: reciprocals are structurally similar to intransitive clauses (see section 5.2.1), reflexives are structurally transitive clauses (see section 5.3.4), and causative clauses have quite complex case-marking patterns which I will discuss in more detail in section 5.5.

[58] In this and the following sections, the parts of each example marked in bold font indicate the NP which is marked by the relevant case morpheme.

i) S argument (or topic) of a non-verbal predicate

4.1 *²a=ki* *⁴tim=Ø* *⁴hen* *²ʧim*

you=GEN **house=ABS** big COP.EXPER

Your house is big.

4.2 *¹ŋa=Ø* *¹kuŋke=no* *³hinla*

I=ABS tiger=FOC COPE.NPST

I am a tiger!

ii) S argument of an intransitive clause

4.3 *²mam=Ø* *³mer-cim*

grandmother=ABS sleep-EXPER

Granny has fallen asleep.

4.4 *¹ŋa=Ø* *²tilma* *³raŋ-si* *¹kor* *¹ni-pa* *¹mupa*

I=ABS yesterday like-SEQ wander go-NOMZ COPA.PST

I was walking around as yesterday

iii) P argument of a transitive clause (generally when P is low on the animacy hierarchy, see section 2.5)

4.5 *²mam=se* *¹kan=Ø* *³yo-ci*

grandmother=ERG **rice=ABS** cook-PFV

Granny cooked rice.

4.6 *[2]an-cya = se* **piʈai = Ø** *[1]ca-nam* *[1]ro*

you-COLL = ERG **beating = ABS** eat-PRED REP

[They say] you lot will get a beating.

iv) S argument of an inverse clause (see section 5.3.3)

4.7 *rames = ta* **[4]kyat = Ø** *[1]yaŋ-ci* *[1]ro*

Ramesh = DAT **work = ABS** find-PFV REP

Apparently Ramesh has found a job.

4.8 *[1]ŋa = ta* **[3]pom = Ø** *[1]yu-ci* *[3]cama* *[2]ŋyan = se*

I = DAT **anger = ABS** come.down-PFV then time = ABL

after that I got angry

v) A argument of a transitive clause (most commonly in imperfective and non-past clauses, and clauses with non-individuated patients)

4.9 **[2]ucu** **[1]kheppa** **[4]hen = Ø** *[1]wan = Ø* *[2]hu-si* *[2]ʈi-pa* *[2]ʈim*

that **old.man** **big = ABS** clothes = ABS wash-SEQ sit-NOMZ COP.EXPER

That old man was washing clothes

vi) T argument of a ditransitive clause

4.10 *saili = se* **[4]ci = Ø** *[1]pin-ci* *[1]wa?*

Saili = ERG **beer = ABS** give-PFV Q

Did Saili give [you] beer?

vii) A argument of a ditransitive clause

4.11	*[1]ŋa=Ø*	*[2]ut=ta*	*[1]tamaŋ*	*[1]tam=Ø*	*[1]lop-pano*	*[1]mula*
	I=ABS	that=DAT	Tamang	word=ABS	learn-PROG	COPA.NPST
	I am teaching him Tamang.					

The absolutive case can therefore be used on any direct argument (ie. S, A, P or T), and it can be considered the default case if there is no compelling reason (be it syntactic, semantic or pragmatic) to mark any of these arguments with an overt case morpheme. It is also the only case form which cannot also be used for oblique participants and adjuncts (as ablative *=se* and dative *=ta* are used on these elements).

4.4 Ergative and ablative cases: *=se*

As mentioned in section 4.2, the form *=se* is used for marking both direct arguments and adjuncts. It also has a use with a marginal category of instruments which might be considered oblique arguments (see section 5.4.3). I propose that the use of this form on direct arguments and non-direct elements constitutes two separate cases: the ergative case-marks relations between direct arguments, while the ablative case-marks oblique arguments and adjuncts. The two cases display different behaviours. The ergative case is not systemic: its use varies with the absolutive (*=Ø*), and is determined by a mixture of factors (see section 4.4.1). The ablative case on the other hand is systemic, and its use is obligatory for marking certain types of adjuncts and oblique arguments (see section 4.4.2). When the ablative marks adjuncts, it is not governed by the predicate and governs its own NP. Although I divide *=se* into two separate morphemes on syntactic grounds, there is a considerable amount of semantic unity across all the functions of the form. I will look at these in section 4.4.3, and subsequently in chapter 6.

It is worth remembering that both ergative and ablative cases have an allomorph in *-e*, which is used on a restricted number of nouns and pronouns (see section 3.2.3).

4.4.1 Ergative case

The ergative case can be used to mark the following elements (most of which can vary with the absolutive):

i) A argument of a transitive clause (most commonly in perfective and perfect clauses, and clauses with an individuated or bounded patient):

4.12 *[2]mam=se* *[1]kan=Ø* *[3]yo-ci*
grandmother=ERG rice=ABS cook-PFV
Granny cooked rice.

4.13 *[1]ŋyine* *[2]tai=Ø* *[3]so* *[1]kham-pa* *[2]ʧim*
we.EXCL.ERG what=ABS do be.able-NOMZ COP.EXPER
What are we able to do?

ii) A argument of a ditransitive clause (most commonly in perfective and perfect clauses, and clauses with an individuated or bounded theme):

4.14 *[2]am=[4]ca=se* *[3]tai-cyappa=Ø* *[1]pin-ci*
mother=CTOP=ERG yoghurt-COLL=ABS give-PFV
(The) mother gave [us] yoghurt and stuff.

iii) S argument of an intransitive clause (with a certain class of verbs, most commonly in perfective clauses, see section 5.2.1):

4.15 *²cyun=se* *⁴tim=i* *⁴yar-ci*
little.bro=ERG house=LOC run-PFV
Little brother ran home.

4.16 *²oŋye=se* *³pyuŋ-cim*
baby=ERG cough-EXPER
The baby coughed.

The use of the ergative on core arguments in Tamang cannot be said to be wholly semantic or syntactic. Examples such as 4.15 and 4.16 appear to indicate that its use is not syntactic, as it is used with the S argument of intransitive verbs. This usage constitutes a form of split intransitivity, which I will discuss in more detail in section 5.2.1. 4.15 might also indicate that it is associated with agency, however 4.16 could not be considered to be agentive. Furthermore, ergative is also compulsory on the A argument of certain transitive clauses, including some with predicates such as *³se:* 'know' which do not involve a high degree of agency. I will discuss issues in reaching a coherent analysis of the ergative case in more detail in sections 6.1.2 and 6.1.3. The functions of the Tamang ergative laid out in this section (and discussed in further detail over the following chapters) do not fit neatly with the most rigid definition of ergative case as marking the A argument in transitive clauses (see Dixon 1994: 9-10), however typological research over recent decades has shown that ergativity is much more diverse and variable than this definition. The term 'ergative' is the most appropriate for this case in Tamang as it situates the case in cross-linguistic discussions of ergativity (see section 6.2.2 for further explanation).

4.4.2 Ablative case

The ablative case is used under the following circumstances:

i) To indicate a source or the point of departure of some movement or force (which is always an adjunct):

4.17 *- [2]khanto=se* *[1]kha-pa?* *- [1]yampu=i=se.*
- where=ABL come-NOMZ **- Kathmandu=LOC=ABL**
- Where have [you] come from? - From Kathmandu.

4.18 *[2]a=se* *[4]kate* *[3]parsa=Ø* *[1]ni-ci?*
you=ABL how.many year=ABS go-PFV
How old are you? [How many years have gone from you?]

ii) To indicate an instrument. Instruments can be considered adjuncts, although there are some complications to drawing the line between instruments as adjuncts or oblique arguments (see section 5.4.3):

4.19 *[2]cyoce* *[3]koca=se* *[1]sya=Ø* *[2]tha:-ci*
big.bro.ERG **khukuri=ABL** meat=ABS cut-PFV
Big brother cut the meat with a knife.

4.20 *[1]ŋye* *[2]ut=ta* *[1]lephe* *[2]puŋ-ci*
I.ERG that=PAT **kick.ABL** beat-PFV
I kicked him. [More literally: 'I struck him with a kick'].

iii) To indicate a material from which something is made:

4.21 *[2]cu* *[4]tim = Ø* ***[2]yuŋpu = se*** *[3]so-pakila*

this house = ABS **stone = ABL** make-PERF

This house is built from stone.

iii) To indicate a reason or manner, related to the action expressed in the main clause. The adjunct phrase indicating reason or manner can be a noun phrase or a clause:

4.22 ***[1]la:pu = se*** *[1]khaŋ-ci*

wind = ABL be.cold-PFV

[I] am cold because of the wind.

4.23 ***phai phurti = se = no*** *[3]mi = Ø* *[3]a-[1]ta-pa* *[2]ka*

rowdiness = ABL = FOC person = ABS NEG-happen-NOMZ PART

People don't do well by being rowdy.

iv) If used with the spatial postposition *[4]kyam* 'road, path' (see section 3.4.3), the ablative case can indicate a path of a movement or force. These postpositional phrases should also be understood as adjuncts:

4.24 ***cautara*** ***[4]kyam = se*** *[1]kha-ci* *[1]wa?*

Chautara **road = ABL** come-PFV PART

Did [you] come through Chautara?

4.4.3 Semantic unity of ergative and ablative cases: 'source'

Despite my analysis of the form *=se* as two homophonous morphemes on syntactic grounds (ergative *=se* is used on direct arguments and ablative *=se* on oblique elements), there is a strong argument for recognising a unitary semantic meaning for all uses of the form. All uses of both the ergative and ablative case can be identified with a role of source, which is either the origin or the conduit of agency, force, movement, obligation or a similar influence which plays a decisive role in the occurrence of the action indicated by the predicate in the (main) clause. I will discuss the significance of the concept of source in more detail in chapter 6.

4.5 Dative and patientive cases: *=ta*

The form *=ta* can be used on direct and oblique arguments, complements and adjuncts. It has been analysed in most of the previous literature as one case morpheme, the 'dative' case (eg. Taylor 1973; Yonjan 1997; Mazaudon 2003; Poudel 2006). However, I propose analysing this form as constituting two homophonous morphemes, one (patientive) used for direct arguments, and the other (dative) for oblique elements (arguments, complements and adjuncts). As with the ergative and ablative cases, the use of the patientive is variable, whereas the dative is invariable. There also appears to be a semantic unity to the various uses of *=ta*, which I will discuss in section 4.5.3.

4.5.1 Patientive case

The patientive case can be used under the following circumstances (both of which are variable to some extent with absolutive):

i) To mark certain P arguments (generally only if they are human or at least animate):

4.25 *[1]ŋye* ***suman=ta*** *[1]mraŋ-ci*
I.ERG **Suman=PAT** see-PFV
I saw Suman.

4.26 ***[2]ucu*** ***[1]mriŋkola*** ***[4]ki:=ta*** *[1]ŋye* *[3]ŋo:-pa* *[1]mupa*
that **girl** **one=PAT** I.ERG tease-NOMZ COPA.PST
I teased that one girl.

ii) To mark the S arguments of a small class of intransitive verbs (see section 5.2.1):

4.27 ***[1]ŋa=ta*** *[1]hen-ci*
I=PAT be.hungry-PFV
I'm hungry.

2.28 ***[1]ŋa=ta*** *[2]cu* *[3]cyal=Ø* *[2]thi-la* *[4]man-ci*
I=PAT this window=ABS smash-FUT think-PFV
I think this window is going to break.

It appears that the patientive case has essentially the same meaning when used on both P and S arguments: it flags a situation where an animate, human participant is considered to have a high degree of patientivity.

4.5.2 Dative case

The dative case is used under the following circumstances:

i) To mark the goal or recipient (G argument) in a ditransitive clause:

4.29 *[1]ŋye* **[2]cyun=ta** *[1]ʧaŋka=Ø* *[1]pin-ci*

I.ERG **little.bro=DAT** money=ABS give-PFV

I gave little brother (some) money.

4.30 **[2]ŋyin=ta** *[2]uraŋle* *[1]cyaka* *[1]cyuku* *[1]tam=Ø* *[2]tha-[2]paŋ-o*

we.EXCL=DAT like.that stupid word=ABS PROH-say-HORT

Don't say stupid things things like that to us.

ii) To mark the complements of certain intransitive verbs (see section 5.3.2):

4.31 **[1]ŋa=ta** *[2]pet-ta* *[1]wa?*

I=DAT be.ashamed-NOMZ PART

Are [you] shy with me?

4.32 **[2]a=ta** *[1]taŋ-pa* *yar*

you=DAT be.happy-NOMZ mate

I really like you, mate!

iii) To mark the complements of inverse predicates (see section 5.3.3):

4.33 **[1]ŋa=ta** *[1]ʧaŋka=Ø* *[1]to:-ci*

I=DAT money=ABS be.necessary-PFV

I need money.

4.34	*[2]ana=Ø*	***[2]ŋyin=ta***	*[1]to:=[4]ca=no*	*[3]a-[1]to:*
	you.PL=ABS	**we.EXCL=DAT**	be.necessary=CTOP=FOC	NEG-be.necessary
	We don't need you!			

iv) To mark the beneficiary in a benefactive clause (see section 5.4.2). Benefactive clauses are formally similar to ditransitive clauses, however a beneficiary is a complement rather than an argument (see section 2.4):

4.35	*[1]ŋye*	***[2]ut=ta***	*[1]ha=Ø*	*[2]tha:-si*	*[1]pin-ci*
	I.ERG	**that=DAT**	hair=ABS	cut-SEQ	give-PFV
	I cut [his/her] hair for him/her.				

4.5.3 Semantic unity of dative and patientive cases: 'affected'

It appears that the form *=ta* indicates that the participant which it marks (which is always animate and nearly always human) is affected in some way by the situation expressed in the clause. This can be as a recipient or goal in a ditransitive clause, as a beneficiary in a benefactive clause, as a patient transitive clause or as an experiencer (which has both agentive and patientive properties) in an inverse clause. The unifying quality of affectedness can perhaps also be analysed as a participant to which action or the import of the proposition is directed, which can perhaps be identified with a generalized role of 'goal' - although this definition is more problematic than the generalized role of 'source' for the ergative and ablative cases (see section 4.4.3). I will discuss the semantics of the form *=ta* in more detail in chapter 6.

4.6 Locative case: *=i*

The marker *=i* is used in both a true locative sense, and in an allative sense to mark a destination (an inanimate goal). It can be used under the following circumstances:

i) To mark a complement of intransitive verbs of motion or location:

4.36 *[1]ŋa=Ø* **[1]kyar-pa** **ʈol=i** *[1]ni-pano* *[1]mupa* *[1]wa*

I=ABS **across-NOMZ** **hamlet=LOC** go-PROG COPA.PST PART

I was going to the next hamlet across.

4.37 *saila=Ø* **[1]yampu=i** *[1]ni-ci* *[1]ro*

Saila=ABS **Kathmandu=LOC** go-PFV REP

Saila went to Kathmandu apparently.

4.38 *[3]taŋke* **[1]yampu=i** *[2]ʈi-pa*

now **Kathmandu=LOC** sit-NOMZ

Now [he] lives in Kathmandu.

Examples 4.36 and 4.37 above show the allative sense of *=i*. The former shows its use for a goal which has not been reached yet, while the latter shows its use for an endpoint (ie. a reached goal). Example 4.38 shows the locative sense.

ii) To mark the G argument (which appears generally to be an endpoint) of certain three-place predicates:

4.39 **[1]me=i** *[1]siŋ=Ø* *[2]than-o*

fire=LOC wood=ABS put-HORT

Put some wood on the fire.

In example 4.39, the locative-marked NP can be considered an argument as a locative is compulsory in the predicate frame and is semantically selected by the predicate. However the locative can also be an adverb (eg. *[2]ci:* 'here'), which indicates that a locative-marked G argument is a less prototypical argument than a dative-marked G argument, which cannot be substituted for an adverbial. There is a clear division of labour between the locative and dative for marking inamimate and human goals respectively, which I will discuss in more detail in section 6.1.4.

iii) To mark adjunct NPs indicating locations:

4.40 *[1]ŋye* ***[[1]karma=ki*** ***[4]tim]=i*** *[1]kan=Ø* *[1]ca-ci*
I.ERG **[Karma=GEN house]=LOC** rice=ABS eat-PFV
I ate my meal in Karma's house.

4.41 *[2]khacipa* *[3]mi=Ø* *[4]pra-pa* ***[4]kyam=i=no*** *esto testo*
what.kind person=ABS walk-NOMZ **road=LOC=FOC** this-that
[2]paŋ-pa *[1]kha-pa*
say-NOMZ come-NOMZ
What kind of people are these who walk on the road and say this and that?

Such uses provide circumstantial details around the main proposition of the clause, and it appears that for adjunct NPs *=i* is only used in its locative sense, and never in the allative sense.

The locative case has a distinctive profile amongst the case forms as although it can mark certain governed relations, it cannot mark direct arguments, but only oblique arguments and complements (as well as adjuncts). As it can indicate a location, goal or endpoint, its meaning can be considered somewhat abstract. However, the locative can only be used to indicate goals and endpoints when it

is used to mark an argument or complement - that is, with its governed uses. If marking an (ungoverned) adjunct, it can only be used in its locative sense.

This case morpheme is also used in some non-verbal predicate clauses, specifically existential, locational and presentational clauses (see section 5.1.3), as well as possessive clauses involving alienable items (see 5.1.4). I will discuss these uses of the locative in more detail in the relevant sections.

4.42 *[3]koṭa=Ø* **[2]la=i** *[1]mula*
cattle-shelter=ABS **forest=LOC** COPA.NPST
The cattle-shelter is in the forest.

4.43 **[3]pecaŋ=i** *[3]cat* *[4]ki=Ø* *[1]mula*
cot=LOC small one=ABS COPA.NPST
He has one baby in the cot. [Literally: 'There is one baby in the cot.']

Finally, *=i* used in combination with the ablative case to form a secondary case *=i=se*, which might be called 'elative', as it has the meaning of moving out from a particular location. However, as this is clearly a concatenation of the locative and ablative cases, I do not feel it is necessary to assign it the status of a full case (in instances where the movement does not begin from a precisely specified or 'enclosed' location, the plain ablative can also be used to mark the location representing the source of some movement).

4.44 - *[2]khanto=se* *[1]kha-pa?* - **[1]yampu=i=se.**
- where=ABL come-NOMZ - **Kathmandu=LOC=ABL**
- Where have [you] come from? - From Kathmandu.

4.7 Comitative case: *=then*

The comitative case marker *=then* is sometimes pronounced as *=ten* in rapid speech. It is most commonly used to coordinate two components of a single noun phrase, such as *[3]ro=then [1]ŋa* 'he and I', or *[2]pasaŋ=then [1]ʈasi* 'Pasang and Tasi', much in the same way that the word 'and' is used in English. It can be proposed as operating at the clause level, for example:

4.45	*[1]ŋa=Ø*	***[1]karma=then***	*[2]tilma*	*[4]cyap*	*[1]ta-ci*
	I=ABS	**Karma=COM**	yesterday	together	happen-PFV
	I met Karma yesterday.				

It appears at first glance that the second argument of example 4.32 is a compulsory element specified by the frame of the predicate (which is a complex predicate). This would indicate that *=then* is a (very marginal) core case. However, it is also possible to understand the two nominal elements 'I' and 'Karma' as one single noun phrase, which are capable of standing in either order and are coordinated by *=then*. In this analysis, the predicate *[4]cyap [1]ta* is only a one argument verb, governing the absolutive case on its argument. In this case, a translation of 'Karma and I met yesterday' may be more appropriate.

4.46	***[[1]ŋa***	***[1]karma=then]=Ø***	*[2]tilma*	*[4]cyap*	*[1]ta-ci*
	[I	**Karma=COM]=ABS**	yesterday	together	happen-PFV
	I met Karma yesterday.				

The situation is similar in the following example:

4.47	*[4pya=i*	***[2pasaŋ***	***1ʧasi=then]=Ø***	*2cat-ci*	*1ro*
	wedding=LOC	**[Pasang**	**Tasi=COM]=ABS**	fight-PFV	REP

Apparently Pasang fought with Tasi at the wedding.

It is also possible to say *4pya=i 2pasaŋ=Ø 2cat-ci* 'Pasang fought at the wedding' without specifiying who he fought with. This indicates (and the lack of an ergative case marker also suggests) that *2cat* is an intransitive verb, and the second fighter Tasi, who is marked with *=then* is either an adjunct rather than an argument in this sentence, or merely part of the same noun phrase Pasang. The second possibility seems more likely, as it is also possible to reverse the elements *4pya=i 1ʧasi=then 2pasaŋ=Ø 2cat-ci 1ro*, which makes them appear more like one noun phrase 'Pasang and Tasi'.

Given the point I have just laid out, it might also be possible to argue that *=then* does not need to be analysed as a case morpheme at all, but would perhaps be better analysed as meaning simply 'and'. Examples such as 4.48 also support this analysis.

4.48	***[1ŋa***	***2a=then]=Ø***	*jiwansathi=Ø*	*3so-i*	
	[I	**you=COM] =ABS**	life-friend=ABS	make-INC	

You and I, let's be life-partners.

4.8 Genitive case: *=ki* (and pronominalized genitive *=kila*)

The genitive case *=ki* does not mark relations at clause level, but rather the possessor of a possessor-possessee relationship in a noun phrase, as in the following examples. The fact that the possessor rather than the possessed entity carries the case is typical of the general tendency of Tamang to mark dependents rather than heads:[59]

[59] Examples 4.51 and 4.55 indicate that its use is also recursive.

4.49 *ahkir* *[²namsa* *⁴ki:=ki* *³mi]=no* *³hinla*

finally [**village** **one=GEN** person]=FOC COPE.NPST

After all [we] are from the same village.

4.50 *[²namsa=ki* *³mi-pakal]=Ø* *³camma=no* *¹kha-ci*

[**village=GEN** person-PL]=ABS all=FOC come-PFV

All the village people came.

4.51 *²kyacu=Ø* *[¹ŋyi* *²cyun=ki* *baik]* *³hinla*

that=ABS [**I.GEN** **younger.brother=GEN** motorbike] COPE.NPST

That is my younger brother's motorbike.

There is also a genitive pronominalizing morpheme, which allows the possessed item to be expressed as a pronoun rather than a full noun. In these instances the lexical noun which was the modifier (and marked genitive) becomes the head of the noun phrase. The lexeme expressed as the head of the NP is the possessor of the relevant item, however the referent of the NP is the possessee. This lexeme is marked with the genitive case *=ki*, followed by another element *-la*.[60] The resulting form with *=kila* can stand as a noun at the clause level. For example:

4.52 *²a=kila=Ø* *²noŋ-ci* *¹wa?*

you=GEN.PRON=ABS break-PFV PART

Is your one broken?

[60] It appears that *-la* is only used in this way in this dialect of Tamang. In other dialects of Tamang, the morpheme *=la* (which is presumably cognate) is the standard genitive case marker (see eg. Yonjan 1997, Mazaudon 2003). However, in the Indrawati Khola dialect, *-la* does not exist as an independent morpheme and can only stand as part of the (etymologically composite) morpheme *=kila*.

4.53 **[2]*a*=*kila***=*se* [1]*hap-pa* [1]*wa?*

you=GEN.PRON=ERG bite-NOMZ PART

Does your one bite?

It is also used in various types of possessive clauses (see section 5.1.4), for example:

4.54 [2]*kyacu* [4]*tim* [4]*hen*=Ø ***ram*=*kila*** [3]*hinla*

that house big=ABS **Ram=GEN.PRON** COPE.NPST

That big house is Ram's.

4.55 [2]*ucu* *baik*=Ø [1]*ŋyi* [2]*cyun*=*ki* **[3]*ro*=*kila*** [3]*hinla*

that motorbike=ABS I.GEN younger.brother=GEN **friend=GEN.PRON** COPE.NPST

That motorbike is my younger brother's friend's.

The genitive pronominalizing morpheme =*kila* appears to effect what Halliday (2004) refers to as 'rank shift', whereby an element which functions at the level of the noun phrase is shifting to function at the clause level, in much the same way as the English possessive pronominal with *'s* (eg. *yours*, *Jane's*, *your mum's*). There is therefore a systematic distinction in this dialect of Tamang between genitive modifiers (marked with =*ki*) which are dependent on a head noun and pronomimalized genitives (with =*kila*) which are heads of their own NP at the clause level.

It is worth noting here that it seems that the two genitive morhemes =*ki* and =*kila* were at some point employed in verbal constructions, as the perfect nominalized form *-pakila* (see section 3.3.7.4) appears transparently composed of the nominalizer plus a pronominalized genitive. However despite the fact that this form probably has an etymology which involves the genitive, in a synchronic analysis *-pakila* is a discrete morpheme.

5. Main clause structures

Now that I have introduced case morphemes, in this chapter I intend to give a full account of the various types of main clauses and what kinds of grammatical relations hold in each one. Main clauses can be classified according to the number of participants that they contain. Apart from standard intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses, there are a number of other patterns of clauses involving one, two or three participants. Reciprocals, for instance, syntactically involve one participant and have a similar appearance to intransitives (see section 5.2.2), and reflexives have two participants and are similar to transitive clauses (see section 5.3.4). I consider non-verbal predicates in a separate section, although they can be considered a type of one-participant clause (see section 5.1). However, there are differences between the participant of these types of clause and the S argument of intransitive clauses. There are two patterns for two-participant clauses involving an argument and a complement: in intransitive clauses with complements, the participant which is higher on the animacy hierarchy (see section 2.5) is the argument and the lower participant is a complement and always oblique (see section 5.3.2), while with inverse clauses this pattern is reversed and the participant lower on the animacy hierarchy is fixed as the argument and the higher participant is oblique (see section 5.3.3). These patterns are determined by the participant frame of the predicate. There are several patterns for three participant clauses, including benefactives (see section 5.4.2) which are formed with the dative case and are structurally identical to canonical ditransitives, and patterns which involve other cases (see section 5.4.3). All three-participant clauses involve one oblique element. Sometimes this is an argument and sometimes an adjunct, although sometimes it is difficult to determine with certainty the boundary between these.

This chapter also considers the two causative constructions, which are complex but monoclausal, and raise the valency of the clause by one (see section 5.5); as well as predicates which take clausal complements, and how these elements interact with valency and grammatical relations (see section 5.6). It also takes a look at complex predicates involving a verbal root and a non-verbal element, and

briefly considers the complications that such constructions raise with regard to grammatical relations (see section 5.7).

5.1 Non-verbal predicates

Structurally, the most basic type of clauses are those which have non-verbal predicates. Clauses with non-verbal predicates involve two phrasal elements: one which the clause is about and another which gives more information about it or is equated with it. These clauses exploit the information structure principles arising from word order (see section 3.5.1), therefore the first element is understood as the topic and the second element as the focal information.

Copular clauses can be considered to have one participant, although this participant differs somewhat from the S argument of an intransitive clause due to the fact it is coordinated with a non-verbal element rather than governed by a verb. The S argument of the clause can therefore be referred to as the 'topic' (thereby acknowledging that there is some difference between this NP and the argument of the verbal predicate of an intransitive clause) and the phrase which gives more information as the 'complement'. The complement phrase can be a noun phrase, a modifier lexeme or an adverbial phrase. In order to coordinate these two elements, Tamang can employ simple juxtaposition (see section 5.1.1), or a copular clause (see sections 5.1.2, 5.1.3 and 5.1.4).

5.1.1 Juxtaposition

With this strategy, the topic and complement are simply juxtaposed with no copula. Neither element has any overt case-marking. The topic, similarly to an S argument, can be analysed as standing in the absolutive case (represented by zero), while the complement, being the predicate of the clause, does not have any case-marking at all. For example:

5.1 *[2]ana = Ø* *[1]phyukpa* *[1]ŋyina = Ø = m* *[2]praŋna*

you.PL = ABS rich we.EXCL = ABS = TOP poor

You are rich, we are poor!

5.2 *[1]ŋa = Ø* *[2]tai = ki* *[1]kuŋke*

I = ABS what = GEN tiger

What kind of tiger am I?

The zero strategy can be used for both equative and attributive predicates, and therefore collapses the distinction which is made between these by separate equative and attributive copulas.

5.1.2 Copular clauses

Copular clauses can be divided into those which contain the equative copula *[3]hin* and those which contain the attributive copula *[1]mu* (see section 3.3.2 for an exposition of the irregular inflection of the copulas). *[3]hin* is used only for equation and therefore most often occurs with nominal predicates. *[1]mu* on the other hand can be attributive or existential, and is used to draw attention to either temporary or permanent qualities of an entity, including its location; therefore one of the elements associated with it can also be an adverbial phrase. Copular systems involving an equative-attributive distinction are an areal feature of the region, and are attested in Nepali (see Acharya 1991: 162-3) as well as Tibetan (see Garrett 2001: 54). Both of the copulas are used with certain types of possessive clauses (see section 5.1.4). Both can also be used as auxiliaries in present and past habitual, progressive and perfect constructions (see sections 3.3.7 and 3.5.4). As mentioned in the sections discussing these constructions, auxiliary constructions appear to have developed from copular clauses, and display varying degrees of grammaticalization towards verbal constructions.

Copulas do not impart semantic information about a state of affairs (state, action etc.) as would a verbal predicate. It appears that their purpose in a clause is to provide the clause with a base to

which verbal inflections can be added, which is the norm in most clauses in Tamang (although bearing in mind exceptions, such as juxtaposition outlined in 5.1.1). However, the fact that different copulas are used to distinguish between attributive and equative clauses indicates that copulas do impart some semantic information to the utterance (see Gawne 2013 for a detailed discussion of this topic in Yolmo). They also impart information regarding tense/aspect, evidentiality etc. The essential semantic difference between the attributive and equative copulas can be seen in the following examples:

5.3 *[1]ŋyi* *[4]tim = Ø* *[1]tar* *[1]mula*
I.GEN house = ABS white COPA.NPST
My house is white.

5.4 *[1]ŋyi* *[4]tim = Ø* *[1]tor* *[1]mula*
I.GEN house = ABS above COPA.NPST
My house is above here.

5.5 *[1]ŋyi* *[4]tim = Ø* *[2]kyacu* *[3]hinla*
I.GEN house = ABS that COPE.NPST
That is my house. [Literally: 'My house is that one.']

Examples 5.3 and 5.4 give more information about the house, whereas 5.5 identifies the house with a particular entity. *[3]hin* is used for both equation (in which a nominal predicate is indicated to be coreferential with the topic/S argument of the clause) and cases of proper inclusion (in which the topic/S argument of the clauses is specified as being part of a group or class which is represented by the predicate). As Tamang does not have an indefinite article, both types of clause are expressed in the same manner:

5.6 *[2]kyacu=Ø [1]ŋyi [2]asyaŋ [3]hinla*

that=ABS I.GEN uncle COPE.NPST

That is my uncle.

5.7 *[2]kyacu=Ø [1]tamaŋ [3]hinla*

that=ABS Tamang COPE.NPST

He is a Tamang.

Example 5.5 is also an example of the strategy which Tamang uses for presentational clauses. Such clauses generally have a demonstrative as their topic, which is frequently (although not always) exophoric (see section 3.4.2). Copular clauses also express evidential information. The non-past forms of the copula in the above examples are evidentially neutral (see section 3.3.6.1). In experiential copular clauses, the form *[2]ʈim* collapses the distinction between attributive and equative copulas:

5.8 *[2]a=ki [1]nana=Ø [1]pokʈe [2]ʈim*

you=GEN big.sister=ABS thin COP.EXPER

Your sister is thin.

5.1.3 Existential and locational clauses

Existential and locational clauses are only formed with the attributive copula. Apart from the copula they involve two elements: a noun phrase and a locative phrase. These clauses exploit the topical and focal positions which are indicated by word order to distinguish between a nominal topic and locative focus/predicate (either a locative NP, or a locative adverb - see example 5.9) in locational clauses, and a locative topic and nominal focus/predicate in existential clauses.

Locational clause:

5.9 *[3]koʈa = Ø* *[2]la = i* *[1]mula*

cattle-shelter = ABS forest = LOC COPA.NPST

The cattle-shelter is in the forest.

Existential clause:

5.10 *[2]la = i* *[3]koʈa = Ø* *[1]mula*

forest = LOC cattle-shelter = ABS COPA.NPST

There is a cattle-shelter in the forest.

5.1.4 Possessive clauses

Possessive clauses are structurally similar to existential/locational clauses, except that instead of one noun phrase and one locative phrase, possessive clauses involve one noun phrase and another phrase which is either a pronominalized genitive (see section 4.8) phrase or a phrase with periphrastic possessive marking. To declare whom a topical item belongs to, one equates a pronominalized genitive with the item:

5.11 *[2]ucu = Ø* *[1]ŋyila* *[3]hinla*

that = ABS I.GEN.PRON COPE.NPST

That is mine.

The difference between the attributive and equative copulas, and between topical and focal positions is also exploited in possessive clauses. To express possession where the possessed item is focal (for which English would use the verb *have*), Tamang reverses the order of the topic and complement

and uses the attributive instead of the equative copula. A pronominalized genitive form is used in clauses expressing inalienable or long-term possession of items such as kin, houses or land:

5.12 *[1]ŋyila* *[2]thetne* *[4]ʈuː=Ø* *[1]mula*
I.GEN.PRON sibling six=ABS COPA.NPST
I have six brothers and sisters.

5.13 *[2]a=kila* *[1]kola=Ø* *[1]mula?*
you=GEN.PRON child=ABS COPA.NPST?
Do you have children?

For alienable items (eg. money, food, drink etc.) a periphrastic possessive construction is used. In this construction, a (non-pronominalized, canonical) genitive is dependent on the head of the NP which consists of the topic marker/nominalizer *=[4]ca* marked with the locative case. The possessed item is the complement, in the focal position.

5.14 *[2]a=ki=[4]ca=i* *[2]ki=Ø* *[1]mula?*
you=GEN=CTOP=LOC water=ABS COPA.NPST
Have you got some water?

5.15 *[3]roni=[4]ca=i* *[2]airak=Ø* *[1]mula* *[1]ro*
friend.PL.GEN=CTOP=LOC liquor=ABS COPA.NPST REP
They [say they]'ve got liquor.

The difference between possessive and existential clauses is that while the former involve a genitive topic the latter involve a locative topic. This difference can be neutralized if the genitive phrase or locative phrase is omitted, as frequently occurs in discourse. It this happens, the clause contains only

the predicate and the copula. We can deduce that the omitted element is the topic rather than the complement as the meaning of the clauses is construed as if the topic phrase was present (ie. the clauses are interpreted as existentials rather than locationals). The omitted information is filled by implicatures which imply a deictic centre of the speaker and addressee - generally the speaker for statements and the addressee for questions. Therefore such sentences are naturally interpreted as meaning 'x is here/there', and by extension 'I/you have x', according to context.

5.16 *kalam=Ø* *[1]mula?*
pen=ABS COPA.NPST?
Is there a pen here? [Ie. Do you have a pen?]

5.17 *[3]me=Ø* *[1]mula* *[4]kyu=Ø* *[1]mula* *[1]wa*
cow=ABS COPA.NPST sheep=ABS COPA.NPST PART
[I/we] have cows, [I/we] have sheep, you know.

5.2 One-participant clauses

The most common one-participant clauses are intransitive clauses with a one-place predicate; however, reciprocal clauses also fall into this category. Reciprocal clauses involve transitive verbs (whose participant frames contain an A and a P argument, see sections 2.2 and 2.5), however as the semantic agent and patient of the clause are coreferential, these are expressed as one (S). This does not involve any special inflection on the verb as Tamang does not have explicit middle morphology, unlike some other Tibeto-Burman languages of the Central Himalaya such as Limbu (van Driem 1987) and Kham (Watters 2002). Reciprocal clauses therefore appear structurally similar to intransitives, although this does not reflect the participant frame of the predicate (in LFG terms, the c-structure is identical to intransitive clauses, but the a-structure is not - see Bresnan 2001).

5.2.1 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses are those which have only one argument (normally referred to in this thesis as an 'S argument', see section 2.1.4). Due to Tamang's tendency to frequent use of zero anaphora the argument is not always overtly expressed, and the definition of the clause as intransitive therefore depends on it being retrievable from context. As discussed in section 2.3, zero anaphora patterns, combined with the fact that a number of Tamang verbs are ambitransitive, do create complications for identifying intransitive clauses with certainty. This is because it is not always possible for a hearer to be sure whether an ambitransitive verb is being used in its intransitive or transitive sense in a given instance, as it is not always obvious from context what elements may have been omitted. A set of intransitive clauses also contain a complement (which is always oblique) in addition to an S argument in their participant frame (see section 5.3.2). Inverse clauses (see section 5.3.3) also bear some similarity to intransitive clauses in that they have only one S argument, however they differ from standard intransitives with complements, as their S is the participant which is lower on the animacy hierarchy and more typically identified with a proto-patient, while with the S argument of the latter follows the standard pattern as the more typically agent-like participant.

There is no uniform pattern of marking S arguments, and they can appear in any of the direct cases absolutive ($=\emptyset$), ergative ($=se$) and patientive ($=ta$). This marking is regulated by a number of factors. The first of these is the lexical class of the predicates, which governs different ranges of options for case-marking. Membership of intransitive predicate classes is influenced by lexical semantics such as participant frames - specifically whether they subcategorize for an animate or inanimate argument - and whether the action of the predicate is volitional or not. The case-marking options of each intransitive clause are therefore determined firstly by class of the predicate, and then by other semantic and pragmatic factors related to that particular utterance (eg. tense/aspect, intention of carrying out the action, contrastive focus etc.).

Four classes of intransitive predicates can be identified, which can be summarized as follows:

Class and permissable case choices	Number of predicates attested	Lexical semantics	Examples
1. always *=Ø*	many	non-volitional/ patientive	*[1]chiŋ* 'wake up', *[4]tu:* 'be tired', *[1]pap* 'trip', *[1]ta* 'become', *[3]pam* 'get wet', *[2]noŋ* 'get broken', *[2]thon* 'emerge, come out', *[1]si* 'die', *[1]khar* 'dry', *[4]syun* 'melt', *[3]min* 'be cooked, ripen'
2. usually *=Ø*, occasionally *=se*	limited number	volitional/ agentive	*[4]yar* 'run', *[1]laŋ* 'play', *[2]sya* 'dance', *[1]phap* 'descend', *[1]kha* 'come', *[1]ni* 'go', *[3]to:* 'arrive'
3. compulsory *=Ø* in imperfective, compulsory *=se* in perfective	few	non-volitional/ patientive (bodily functions)	*[3]pyuŋ* 'cough', *[3]sa [1]kin* 'breathe', *[2]ŋyet* 'laugh', *[1]ha:* 'cry'
4. usually *=Ø*, occasionally *=ta*	few	non-volitional/ patientive	*[1]hen* 'be hungry', *[1]khaŋ* 'be cold', *[4]man* 'want', *[1]taŋ* 'be happy'

Table 5.1: Intransitive predicate classes

The class whose S argument is always marked absolutive *=Ø* (class 1) contains the great majority of non-volitional (or patientive) verbs. This class includes all adjectival verbs (see section 3.2.5), which constitute an inflectionally restricted class as, despite being verbal lexemes, they can only be used with a limited number of verbal inflectional morphemes. Some examples are as follows:

5.18 *[2]cyun=Ø* *[1]te:-cim*
little.bro=ABS fall-EXPER
Little brother has fallen over.

5.19 *[2]ki=Ø* *[1]sim-pa* *[1]mula*
water=ABS be.cold-NOMZ COPA.NPST
The water is cold.

The class which can allow marking with either absolutive *=Ø* or ergative *=se* (class 2) consists of volitional/agentive verbs. The use of the ergative case in a clause with a predicate of this class appears to be affected by tense/aspect (ergative is more likely to be used in past/perfective clauses), and the degree of volition and independent action on the part of the S argument in that particular clause. We can therefore say that ergative is more likely to be used if the action is telic and intentional, ie. in instances where the S argument has a relatively high number of properties of a proto-agent (see section 2.1.3). An example is as follows:

5.20 *saila=Ø/=se* *[4]yar-ci* *[2]ro*
Saila=ABS/ERG run-PFV REP
Saila has run away, apparently.

5.21 *[1]ŋa=Ø/[1]ŋye* *[2]yoːna* *[3]toː-la*
I=ABS/I.ERG quickly arrive-FUT
I will arrive early.

The class which governs under some circumstances compulsory absolutive, and under some circumstances compulsory ergative (class 3) consists of a small number of non-volitional (or patientive) verbs relating to bodily functions. The variable determining the split appears to be aspectual: absolutive is compulsory in imperfective clauses, and ergative in perfective clauses, as in the following examples:[61]

5.22 *[2]oŋye=Ø* *[3]pyuŋ-pano* *[2]ʈim*
baby=ABS cough-PROG COP.EXPER
The baby is coughing.

[61] It is possible that the alternation of case-marking could be related to clause construction, with ergative being used with a simple construction and absolutive with an auxiliary construction. It is difficult to test whether aspect and clause structure as independent variables however, as all imperfective clauses involve auxiliary constructions (see section 3.3.7).

5.23 *[2]oŋye=se* *[3]pyuŋ-cim*

baby=ERG cough-EXPER

The baby coughed.

A small number of verbs (class 4), which all appear to be stative and patientive can take S arguments marked either with the absolutive *=Ø* or the patientive case *=ta*. Of these, it is generally more common to use absolutive although there appears to be no difference in meaning between the markings. It is possible (although by no means certain) that this variable marking - which does seem to be optional as no difference in meaning can be discerned between the two alternatives - may be due to contact influences from Nepali. All of the equivalent propositions are expressed in Nepali with complex predicate constructions which involve a noun, the light verb *lāg* 'become attached' and an S argument marked with the dative case *-lāi* (eg. *ma-lāi bhok lāg-yo* (I-DAT hunger become.attached-PFV.3P.S) 'I am hungry'). A Tamang example is as follows:

5.24 *[1]ŋa=Ø/[1]ŋa=ta* *[1]hen-ci*

I=ABS/I=PAT be.hungry-PFV

I'm hungry.

The optional use of ergative on volitional verbs - and its prohibition on most non-volitional verbs - is in line with the semantics of the morpheme (which involve agentivity and more broadly source of action - see sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.3). Its use with the third class of verbs mentioned above (non-volitional verbs indicating bodily functions) appears more curious - particularly as sometimes it is compulsory.

However, such a pattern is consistently attested in languages with split intransitive patterns. Merlan (1985) considers verb classes in 8 split intransitive languages. Among her conclusions, she notes

that amongst the Sa and Sp classes (see section 2.1.4), one is always open (ie. unmarked) and the other closed (ie. marked), and the animacy of the argument NP plays a crucial role in determining the sets in all languages. More specifically:

> It divides intransitives in such a way that the specialized class contains, with few or no exceptions, verbs which require animate subjects…This minimal intransitive subclass is, almost without exception, cross-linguistically comprised in part of verbs relating to bodily functions and processes; regardless of whether the class is subjectively or objectively inflecting. (Merlan 1985: 347)

In Tamang *=Ø* can be considered the unmarked class and *=Ø/=se* the marked class, firstly as the number of verbs which take only *=Ø* is greater than those which can take *=Ø/=se*, and secondly because even within the *=Ø/=se* group (classes 2 and 3 above), *=se* is only used under certain conditions. The fact that the class of bodily function verbs (class 2) patterns most closely with the class of agentive/volitional verbs (class 3) is therefore corroborated by cross-linguistic data. Similar class of verbs exists in other languages in the region, for instance Nepali (Bickel 2010: 411) and Hindi, which contains both a class of predicates indicating bodily functions such as *cough*, *vomit, urinate* which conditions compulsory ergative marking on their S argument in perfective clauses, and a class of agentive verbs such as *dance, sing, play, fight* which can take either an ergative or nominative (ie. *=Ø*) S argument (Verbeke 2013a: 103). These classes correspond closely to classes 2 and 3 of Tamang intransitive verbs noted above. It is not impossible that the class 2 pattern might be calqued from Nepali, however similar patterns are also common in Tibeto-Burman (see Chelliah and Hyslop 2011), and this pattern appears less likely to have been calqued than the class 4 pattern.

The variable marking of Tamang S arguments can be considered a form of split intransitivity. I will discuss alignment, which entails questions of how the marking of S arguments relates to that of arguments in transitive and ditransitive clauses, in more detail in chapter 6.

5.2.2 Reciprocals

Like intransitive clauses, reciprocal clauses in Tamang have only one argument. However there are more restrictions on the S argument of a reciprocal clause than of an intransitive clause: it is always plural, and is always absolutive (ie. zero-marked). It is sometimes clear from context that a predicate is being used in a reciprocal sense. However, if this is not clear, it can be made explicit by inserting an adjunct adverbial phrase *[4]ki:=se [4]ki:=ta*, literally 'one=ABL one=DAT' which translates into English as 'each other'. I analyse the case markers in this phrase to be ablative and dative rather than ergative and patientive because in my definition of Tamang cases (see chapter 4), I propose that ergative and patientive are only used for direct arguments whereas the homophonous ablative and dative morphemes are used with oblique participants and adjuncts. The difference between a transitive and a reciprocal clause can be seen from the following examples:

5.25	*[4]kyam=i*	*[2]utne*	*[1]pema=ta*	*[1]mraŋ-ci*
	road=LOC	that.PL.ERG	Pema=PAT	see-PFV
	They saw Pema on the road.			

5.26	*[4]kyam-i*	*[2]utna=Ø*	*([4]ki:=se*	*[4]ki:=ta*
	road=LOC	that.PL=ABS	(one=ABL	one=DAT
	[4]ki:=se	*[4]ki:=ta)*	*[1]mraŋ-ci*	
	one=ABL	one=DAT)	see-PFV	
	They saw each other on the road.			

The fact that the one argument in example 5.26 is in the absolutive case reflects the fact that each of the various people in the group which is denoted by the pronoun *[2]utna* 'they' is both an agent and patient of the action of the predicate. The same pattern can be seen in the following examples:

5.27 *²utna = Ø* *⁴ki: = se* *⁴ki: = ta* *⁴ki: = se* *⁴ki: = ta* *puŋ-ci*

that.PL = ABS one = ABL one = DAT one = ABL one = DAT beat-PFV

They hit each other.

5.28 *¹ŋa = ta* *loŋpa = Ø* *¹kha-pa* *²utna = Ø* *⁴ki: = se* *⁴ki: = ta*

I = PAT fear = ABS come-NOMZ that.PL = ABS one = ABL one = DAT

⁴ki: = se *⁴ki: = ta* *¹sat-ta = no* *¹kham-pa*

one = ABL one = DAT kill-NOMZ = FOC can-NOMZ

I'm afraid that they might even kill each other.

5.29 *²utna = Ø* *(⁴ki: = se* *⁴ki: = ta)* *¹taŋ-pa*

that.PL = ABS (one = ABL one = DAT) like-NOMZ

They love each other.

Example 5.29 provides an example of how the interpretation of reciprocal intransitive predicates depends on context, especially if the predicate is ambitransitive. The verb *¹taŋ* used with one argument means 'be happy', whereas when used with a second complement marked with *= ta* (see section 5.3.2), it means 'x loves y'. The sentence *²utna ¹taŋ-pa* can therefore mean either 'they love each other' or 'they are happy'. The phrase *⁴ki: = se ⁴ki: = ta* can be used to give an explicitly reciprocal reading if this was not clear from context.

There are certain verbs in Tamang whose lexical semantics tend towards being reciprocal. While *¹taŋ* 'like' may be one of the more marginal of these and more likely to need the explicitly reciprocal adjunct phrase, others are fully clear without it, for instance:

5.30 *[1]ʈasi = then* *[2]pasaŋ = Ø* *[2]cat-ci*

Tasi = COM Pasang = ABS fight-PFV

Tasi and Pasang fought.[62]

5.31 *[2]utna = Ø* *[1]yampu = i* *[4]cyap* *[1]ta-ci*

that.PL = ABS Kathmandu = LOC together happen-PFV

They met in Kathmandu.

5.3 Two-participant clauses

Clauses with two participants include a number of different patterns. The most important of these are canonical transitive clauses which comprise an A argument and P argument. Transitive verbs on this model tend to express actions whose participants tend relatively strongly towards proto-agent and proto-patient (see section 2.1.3) and which would therefore be considered highly transitive, although many less transitive propositions, including states (eg. *[3]se:* 'know', *[3]ʈan* 'remember') are also lexicalized as transitive verbs of this type.

As mentioned in section 2.4, all direct arguments of a transitive verb (including A and P) can under the correct circumstances be absolutive, with no overt case-marking. Apart from this standard transitive model, there are two other types of clause involving two participants: these are intransitive clauses with a complement (which Dixon 2010: 116-7 refers to as the 'extended' intransitive type - see section 5.3.2) and inverse clauses (see section 5.3.3). These types of clause both involve one S argument (which is usually absolutive, and with inverse clauses always so) and a complement which is always oblique. Both of these frames occur with predicates which govern two participants but are not prototypical transitives. Extended intransitives fall into two major classes: those which involve some feeling of the S argument regarding the complement, which is marked dative, and those

[62] See section 5.7 for discussion of the comitative case.

involving location or movement of the S argument, where the complement is marked locative. In both of these the S argument is the more typically agentive participant. This pattern is reversed in inverse clauses, where the less agentive participant (ie. the stimulus, theme etc.) stands as the (absolutive) S argument and the more agentive participant (the experiencer etc.) is a complement and marked with the dative case.

5.3.1 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses are those which have two arguments (A and P) in their argument structure, although it is common in discourse for one or both of these arguments to be omitted through zero anaphora. Therefore transitive clauses must be defined as those where two arguments are either overtly present, or are retrievable from context; although due to these patterns of argument omission and the ambitransitivity of a number of verbs, one can meet similar difficulties while trying to identify a transitive clause as with intransitive clauses.

Case-marking in transitive clauses is variable, and is influenced by semantic factors which can generally be related to the degree of transitivity of the state of affairs expressed in the utterance (see Hopper and Thompson 1980). However, it appears that some case-marking is also determined by the idiosyncratic frames of individual verbs (for example, *ʔse:* 'know' appears to require ergative case on the A argument, even though the state of affairs indicated by the verb is not especially high in transitivity), indicating that case-marking exhibits an uneven degree of syntacticization across the lexicon. The semantic and syntactic aspects of case-marking of direct arguments will be discussed in more detail in sections 6.1.2 and 6.1.3.

Unlike a prototypical ergative system, where absolutive case can only be used for P arguments in a transitive clause (see Dixon 1994: 8-9), in Tamang the absolutive can be used for either argument under certain conditions. However, the ergative is only used for A arguments. Likewise, patientive is only used for P arguments. This indicates that the absolutive is best considered a default case for

either argument, and use of the ergative or patientive imparts certain meanings particular to certain utterances. The following examples show the major case-marking patterns which are possible in transitive clauses (for more examples, see chapter 4 and Appendix):

A = absolutive; P = absolutive

5.32 *[1]ŋyina=Ø* *[1]kan=Ø* *[1]ca-pano* *[1]mula*

we.EXCL=ABS rice=ABS eat-PROG COPA.NPST

We are eating (our meal).

A = ergative; P = absolutive

5.33 *[1]ŋyine* *[4]tolo=no* *[1]kan=Ø* *[1]ca-ci*

we.EXCL.ERG earlier=FOC rice=ABS eat-PFV

We already ate (our meal).

A = absolutive; P = patientive

5.34 *[1]ŋa=Ø* *[2]a=ta* *[1]cya:-pano* *[1]mula*

I=ABS you=PAT watch-PROG COPA.NPST

I'm watching you.

A = ergative; P = patientive

5.35 *maya=se* *[1]ŋa=ta* *[2]ŋyot-ci*

Maya=ERG I=PAT invite-PFV

Maya invited me.

These examples are representative of the general tendencies of overt (ie. non-zero, non-absolutive) case-marking. It is worth noting that there is no person-based system of hierarchical case-marking as in, for instance, Kham (see Watters 2002). A arguments tend to be marked as ergative more

frequently in perfective than imperfective clauses (see examples 5.33 and 5.35) and generally in other utterances with a high degree of transitivity. P arguments are only marked as patientive if they are animate and more specifically if they are human: it is possible, but is less common to use the case on animal P arguments. Similar patterns dependent on animacy can be observed in many Himalayan languages, and appear to be specific to this region (see section 6.2.3). It is also not essential to use the patientive on human P arguments, and a sentence such as the following example is also grammatical and acceptable:

5.36	*[2]ut = se*	*[1]ŋa = Ø*	*[2]mraŋ-ci*
	that = ERG	I = ABS	see-PFV
	He/she saw me.		

The semantic difference between using a patientive case marker or zero absolutive case on a human patient is subtle. It appears to form part of a system by which variations in word order and case-marking can give different perspectives on a proposition (see section 6.3), however it may also be related to the specifications of individual verbs. There are rare expressions in which an inanimate A argument is seen to act on an animate P argument, for example:

5.37	*[1]ŋa = ta*	*[4]yam = se*	*[1]syap-ci*
	I = PAT	disease = ERG	seize-PFV
	I got ill.		

The fact that the first argument of this clause is marked with *= ta* makes it appear at first glance similar to an inverse construction (see section 5.3.3). However, *[1]syap* 'seize' is a normal transitive verb with clear A and P arguments. Given the meaning of the verb, its most common argument frame involves a human A and a human P argument, for example *pulis = se [2]pasaŋ = ta [1]syap-ci [1]ro* (police = ERG Pasang = PAT seize-PFV REP) 'apparently the police caught Pasang'. The usage of

the verb in the above example is marked in that the A argument *[4]yam* 'disease' is inanimate, which naturally goes against the general tendency of A arguments to be human, volitional etc. The unusual semantics of this expression are reflected in the fact that the P argument regularly occurs before the A argument. As mentioned in section 3.5.1, word order in Tamang is largely determined by information structure. As participants higher up the animacy hierarchy (particularly 1st and 2nd person) have a high degree of topicality, it is in keeping with this that the human argument *[1]ŋa* in the above example is in the initial topic position of the clause, even though it is a patient. In less extreme inversions of prototypical agents and patients, either order can commonly be used.[63] For example:

5.38 *[1]niki = se* *[1]ŋa = ta* *[1]hap-ci.*
dog = ERG I = PAT bite-PFV
The dog bit me.

5.39 *[1]ŋa = ta* *[1]niki = se* *[1]hap-ci*
I = PAT dog = ERG bite-PFV
The dog bit me.

In terms of verb classes for transitive verbs, the only important distinction seems to be between verbs which can take a human P argument and verbs which cannot. The former group allows absolutive marking *= ta* on the P argument, while the latter group does not, as inanimate arguments are never marked in this way. The latter group is probably smaller, including verbs such as *[2]thuŋ* 'drink', *[4]ha* 'dig' etc.

[63] Such alternations in word order can also be considered part of the system of perspective (see section 6.3).

5.3.2 Intransitives with complements ('extended' intransitives)

These patterns occur when intransitive verbs (intransitive by the definition that they do not involve a second direct argument (P argument) in their participant frame) are used with a second participant which is semantically selected by the predicate, and should be considered a participant rather than an adjunct. Two main patterns can be identified: one where the complement is marked with dative case *=ta*, and one where the complement is marked with locative case *=i*. These types of clause constitute an example of what Dixon (2010: 116-7) refers to as 'extended' intransitives.

The former construction occurs with verbs involving feelings and emotions (eg. *[2]loŋ* 'be afraid', *[2]pet* 'be ashamed'). Semantically these propositions have a very low degree of transitivity as the S argument does not instigate any action itself, but rather is affected by the complement, which itself is probably not affected.[64] The S argument is always absolutive, which reflects the status of this group of verbs as part of the patientive class of intransitives (see section 5.2.1), whose S argument can only be absolutive and which does not allow ergative marking. The fact that the marking of the other participant with *=ta* is compulsory indicates that this is dative rather than patientive (whose use is not compulsory in transitive clauses). This pattern, which involves adding an extra participant to the frame of an intransitive verb, could be considered a form of ambitransivity. However it differs from the truly ambitransitive patterns which are evident in Tamang (see section 6.4) as it does not involve the addition of an argument, but only an oblique participant. Some examples are as follows:

5.40 *[1]ŋa=Ø* *[1]niki=ta* *[2]loŋ-pa*
I=ABS dog=DAT be.afraid-NOMZ
I am afraid of the dog.

[64] A similar pattern, which involves one participant in the absolutive case and one in the dative case, is commonly used in Tibetan. Tournadre (1991) refers to this as the 'affective' pattern, and analyses it as one of several frames which are governed by different types of transitive predicates. It appears that the pattern is more restricted in Tamang.

5.41 *[1]ŋa = ta* *[2]pet-ta* *[1]wa?*

I = DAT be.ashamed-NOMZ PART

Are [you] shy with me?

The second pattern occurs with intransitive verbs which involve a location or destination. The most common members of this group are *[1]ni* 'go', *[1]kha* 'come' and *[1]yu* 'come down', but it also includes other verbs of motion such as *[3]to:* 'arrive', *[4]yar* 'run', as well as verbs of location such as *[2]ʈi* 'sit'. Bickel and Nichols (2009: 4) propose that the second participant of such predicates should be considered arguments, as the predicate assigns to them the semantic role of goal even if this is not explicitly marked with the relevant case (in Tamang, *= i* is used in the allative as well as locative sense). For example:

5.42 *- [3]me:me = Ø* *[2]khanto* *[1]ni-ci?* *- saila = ki* *[4]tim = i* *[1]ni-ci*

- grandfather = ABS where go-PFV - Saila = GEN house = LOC go = PFV

Where did grandpa go? - [He] went to Saila's house.

On the other hand, the second element of a clause with *[1]ni* can also be an adverbial phrase, for example.

5.43 *[1]mar* *[1]ni-ci*

below go-PFV

[He] went below (downhill).

[1]ni and the other verbs of motion can also govern verbal complements in purpose clauses, where a nominalized verb is marked either with locative *= i* or dative *= ta*. I will discuss purpose clauses in more detail in section 7.6. The fact that the second element of a sentence with one of the motion verbs is not always an NP but can also be an adverb or a nominalized verb appears to indicate that

this element is better analysed as a complement than an argument. As usual in Tamang, the definition of whether a given element is conceptually compulsory or not is complicated by omission of topical elements. If we analyse destinations (marked with locative) as complements, could we not analyse sources of movement (marked with ablative *=se*) in the same way? We could also make the same argument for clauses in which an NP marked with *=se* indicates a reason for the action or state indicated by the predicate in the main clause, for example:

5.44	*[4]pra-pa=se*[65]	*[1]ŋa=Ø*	*[4]tuː-ci*
	walk-NOMZ=ABL	I=ABS	be.tired-PFV
	I am tired because of walking.		

Such examples represent another complication in the distinction between complements and adjuncts. If the stimuli marked with *=ta* in examples 5.40 and 5.41 (which are explanations for, rather than affected by, the state of affairs expressed by the predicate) can be called complements, then one could perhaps reason that explanations marked with *=se* should also be considered complements. The best way to distinguish between complements and adjuncts, as mentioned in section 2.4, is the fact that complements are semantically selected by the predicate, whereas adjuncts are not, and can provide any kind of circumstantial information. The complications outlined above show some of the difficulties associated with this distinction.

5.3.3 Inverse clauses

The opposite pattern to that observed with verbs such as *[2]loŋ* 'fear' and *[2]pet* 'be ashamed' is the inverse construction, which can be formed with a limited number of verbs which also involve two participants and express propositions with a relatively low degree of transitivity. Examples include *[1]yaŋ* 'get', *[1]toː* 'be necessary (need, want)', *[3]yoː* 'be enough', *[3]roŋ* 'taste nice', *[1]ta* 'become, happen

[65] This form, although formed from a nominalized verbal root, might also be analysed as fully lexicalized as a noun (see discussion in section 7.6.4).

(to someone)'. Rather than A and P arguments, the participants associated with these verbs are better analysed as an S argument and an oblique complement, meaning that clauses with these verbs stand in a position between typical transitive and typical intransitive clauses. As mentioned in sections 2.1.4 and 3.5.1, such constructions are very common in South Asian languages (Masica 1976: chapter 6) and are often discussed under the name of 'dative subject' constructions (see Verma and Mohanan 1990), although as Bickel and Yadav (2000: 364-9) point out, the use of the term 'subject' in this context is inappropriate in a number of ways.

The S argument, which is always absolutive, is invariably the participant with more properties of proto-patient (ie. stimulus etc.), while the complement is always marked in the dative case, and represents the participant with more qualities of a proto-agent (ie. experiencer etc.). As such, the complement element often tends to be topical, and frequently occurs in clause-initial position (see section 3.5.1). Even more frequently it is left out altogether and the reference of the unexpressed complement (and topic) of the clause is inferred according to the set of implicatures mentioned in section 3.5, where a statement typically refers to the speaker, a question typically refers to the address, and the involvement of a third party is indicated by the reported speech speech particle *²ro* or an evidential. This participant's status as a complement rather than an argument is justified by the fact that if it is expressed overtly, it must be marked in the dative case *=ta*, while both arguments of transitive verbs can (under the right conditions) be absolutive. As some of the following examples show, either participant can be omitted if it is topical, and implicatures fill in the gaps (for more examples of inverse clauses, see chapter 4 and Appendix).

5.45	- *¹kan=Ø*	*³yoː-ci?*	- *³yoː-ci*	*¹ŋa=ta*
	- rice=ABS	be.enough-PFV?	- be.enough-PFV	I=DAT
	- [Do you] have enough rice?		- Yes I have enough.	

5.46 *²ki=Ø* *¹to:-ci* *¹ro*

water=ABS be.necessary-PFV REP

[He says he] needs water.

5.47 *¹kyacu* *¹mriŋkola=Ø* *¹ŋa=ta* *¹to:-ci*

that girl=ABS I=DAT be.necessary-PFV

I want that girl.

The lexeme *¹yaŋ* 'find, be available' is interesting as it appears to be the only verb which allows both a transitive and an inverse frame argument frame. It is therefore possible to say both *¹ŋye ⁴kyat=Ø ¹yaŋ-ci* (I.ERG work=ABS find-PFV) 'I found a job' or *¹ŋa=ta ⁴kyat=Ø ¹yaŋ-ci* (I=DAT work=ABS be.available-PFV) 'I got a job'. The first of these gives a stronger sense that getting a job was as a result of the speaker's own efforts than the second one. The perfectly acceptable *⁴kyat=Ø ¹yaŋ-ci* (work=ABS find-PFV) would be ambiguous in this regard. *¹yaŋ* can therefore be considered in some way ambitransitive, although its variability between transitive and inverse frames appears to be unique in the language. More common patterns of ambitransitivity are discussed in section 6.4.

5.3.4 Reflexives

A few verbs in Tamang are lexically reflexive.[66] However, there is no reflexive verbal morphology and the majority of reflexive actions in Tamang are expressed as a transitive clause with the form *³raŋ* 'self' (which is both a reflexive pronoun and an emphatic form) as the P argument. *³raŋ* must be overtly expressed at least once in order to indicate that the clause is reflexive - this is a pronominal use. If *³raŋ* is expressed twice in a clause then one of the instances is emphatic. Unsurprisingly, it is possible to omit non-reflexive pronouns associated with a reflexive instance of

[66] For instance *²la:* 'hide oneself' (reflexive) as opposed to *²cum* 'hide' (transitive), and possibly *¹re:* 'rise, get up' (reflexive) as opposed to *¹ren* 'raise, stand up' (transitive).

a predicate through normal processes of zero anaphora. The following examples each involve two overt expressions of *[3]raŋ*.

5.48 *[3]ro=se* *[3]raŋ=se=no* *[3]raŋ=ta* *[1]to-ci*
friend=ERG self=ABL=FOC self=PAT strike-PFV
He/she hit him/herself.

5.49 *[3]ro=se* *[3]raŋ=se=no* *[3]raŋ=ta* *[2]tha:-ci*
friend=ERG self=ABL=FOC self=PAT cut-PFV
He/she cut him/herself.

5.50 *aina=i* *Saroj=Ø* *[3]raŋ=se=no* *[3]raŋ=Ø=no* *[1]cya:-ci*
mirror=LOC Saroj=ABS self=ABL=FOC self=ABS=FOC watch-PFV
Saroj looked at himself in the mirror.

In examples 5.48 and 5.49, the instance of *[3]raŋ* marked with *=ta* is a reflexive pronoun, while the instance marked with *=se* is an emphatic adjunct. It follows that the case form *=ta* in this case is patientive (as the reflexive pronoun is a direct argument) while the form *=se* appears to be ablative (as the element it marks appears an adjunct, although as I discuss below it might also be a secondary predicate). The reflexive pronoun in 5.50 is absolutive rather than patientive - as discussed in section 4.5.2, patientive case is not compulsory, even on human P arguments. The fact that the emphatic instance of *[3]raŋ* is invariably marked with the form *=se* in all the above examples reflects the fact that it is an adjunct and therefore requires compulsory case-marking. The adjunct phrases do not affect the argument structure of the clause. The focus marker *=no* is also used where pragmatically appropriate - as mentioned in section 3.5.2, information structure markers do not affect grammatical relations. The following example shows that the adjunct phrase can also be omitted with no effect on

the understanding of the clause, while *[3]raŋ* functioning as a pronoun (and an argument) must be expressed overtly:

5.51 *[3]ro=Ø* *aina=i* *[3]raŋ=Ø=no* *[1]cya:-pano* *[2]ʈim*
friend=ABS mirror=LOC self=ABS=FOC look-PROG COP.EXPER
He/she is looking at him/herself in the mirror.

[3]raŋ can also be used with intransitive verbs. In these cases it is certainly not a pronominal form. For example:

5.52 *[3]raŋ=no* *[1]si-ci*
self=FOC die-PFV
[He/she] killed him/herself.

In this example, which is the standard way of communicating that someone committed suicide, the S argument itself has been omitted through zero anaphora, and the use of *[3]raŋ* with the focus marker give a sense of 'of his/her own accord'. The same pattern can occur with inaminate S arguments, for example:

5.53 *[2]mrap=Ø* *[3]raŋ=no* *[1]ʈhaŋ-cim*
door=ABS self=FOC open-EXPER
The door opened itself!

These examples raise some issues regarding the analysis of *[3]raŋ* as an adjunct phrase governed by a concrete/semantic case marker. In this example, *[3]raŋ* has no case-marking. This cannot be analysed as absolutive (*=Ø*), because (as mentioned in section 4.2) absolutive case can only be used on direct arguments. It appears that this phrase must therefore be either adverbial (although not an NP

adjunct), or possibly a secondary (nominal) predicate (as mentioned in section 5.1.2, nominal predicates do not have any case status). Either of these analyses is problematic in light of examples 5.48, 5.49 and 5.50, where the emphatic instance of *[3]raŋ* was marked with the case form *=se*. A non-nominal adjunct would be unlikely to take case-marking, as would a nominal predicate. Perhaps the best explanation is that *[3]raŋ* is used as a reflexive pronoun, and can also be used in an emphatic adjunct noun phrase governed by case marker, as well as in a non-nominal emphatic phrase which does not have any case (this appears simpler than an analysis as a secondary predicate).

It is worth noting that body parts or personal possessions are generally interpreted as relevant to the topic of the clause. This allows a number of grooming expressions (which are often reflexive or simply intransitive in many European languages) to be expressed as transitive clauses where the second argument indicating the bodypart or possessed item is interpreted as belonging to the first argument. This is another example of the importance of implicatures in Tamang discourse:

5.54 *[1]ŋye* *dari=Ø* *[3]preː-ci*
I.ERG beard=ABS shave-PFV
I shaved [my] beard. = I shaved.

5.55 *[2]cyun=se* *[1]wan=Ø* *[1]wan-ci*
little.brother=ERG material=ABS put.on-PFV
Little brother put on [his] clothes. = Little brother got dressed.

5.4 Three-participant clauses

Three-participant clauses include ditransitive clauses (see section 5.4.1), which are formed with verbs whose participant frame governs three arguments, and clauses where a combination of arguments and adjuncts add up to a total of three, including benefactives (see section 5.4.2) and other types of oblique elements (see section 5.4.3). Due to Tamang's pervasive tendency to omit

topical elements, it is sometimes difficult to use the criterion of a given participant being obligatory to neatly distinguish ditransitive clauses from other types of three-participant clauses. As Margetts and Austin (2007) point out, even within one language there is typically a wide range of patterns for expressing three-participant events.

5.4.1 Ditransitive clauses

Clauses involving canonical ditransitive verbs (eg. *[1]pin* 'give', *[2]ŋon* 'show') always mark the recipient or goal-like argument (G) as oblique (dative) and the theme-like argument (T) with zero (ie. absolutive). This is the case even if the T argument is human, which constitutes an important difference from transitive clauses, where human non-A arguments are very frequently marked with the patientive case *=ta* (see section 5.3.1). An A argument of a ditransitive clause can be ergative or absolutive. The variation is influenced to some extent by tense/aspect: it is more common for A to be ergative in past/perfective clauses than in imperfective clauses.

5.56 *[2]khya:[3]pileno* *[2]ut=ta* *[1]ʧaŋka=Ø* *[1]pin-ta* *[1]mula*
always him=DAT money=ABS give-NOMZ COPA.NPST
[I] always give him money.

5.57 *sarita=se* *[1]ŋa=ta* *[2]oŋye=Ø* *[2]ŋon-ci*
Sarita=ERG I=DAT baby=ABS show-PFV
Sarita showed me the baby.

By my definition of direct arguments in Tamang as those arguments which can stand without overt case-marking, the A and T arguments of a ditransitive clause are direct arguments whereas the G argument is an oblique argument (see section 2.4). This indicates that ditransitive clauses in Tamang resemble more closely what Dryer (1986) calls 'direct object' patterns than 'primary object' patterns. However, this discussion is complicated in Tamang by the fact that there is variable

marking of P arguments in transitive clauses. I discuss questions regarding alignment in more detail in section 6.2. For more examples of ditransitive clauses, see chapter 4 and Appendix.

5.4.2 Benefactive complements

Tamang has a benefactive construction which adds an oblique element, marked with dative *=ta*, to a two-argument/transitive clause. A benefactive clause is formed from a serial construction involving a sequential converbial suffix *-si* on the predicate, followed by the verb *[1]pin* 'give' which indicates that the action is for the benefit of someone else, and is inflected as the main verb. This construction reflects a common cross-linguistic grammaticalization pattern of lexical verbs meaning 'give' towards benefactives (Heine and Kuteva 2004: 149-51). As benefactives usually involve transitive predicates, it follows that the element marked with *=ta* is not part of the participant frame and is best considered an adjunct, even though it is marked in the same way as a G argument of a distransitive clause. The semantic status of the second direct argument is still likely to be closer to that of a patient than of a theme, and the additional partipant is not a literal goal as in the directed point of an action, but more of a figurative goal. Benefactive constructions are often used when one participant performs an action on a particular bodypart or possession of another person, and they raise that participant (the possessor of the actual patient) from a possessor in a noun phrase to the clause level.[67] Consider the following examples:

5.58	*[1]ŋye*	*[2]ut=ki*	*[1]ha=Ø*	*[2]tha:-si*	*[1]pin-ci*
	I.ERG	that=GEN	hair=ABS	cut-SEQ	give-PFV
	I cut his hair.				

[67] This pattern is also common in Indo-European languages, for instance Greek *μου έκοψε τα μαλλιά* (I.DAT cut.PFV.3P the.N.PL hair.PL) 'he cut my hair'.

5.59	*[1]ŋye*	*[2]ut = ta*	*[1]ha = Ø*	*[2]thaː-si*	*[1]pin-ci*
	I.ERG	that = DAT	hair = ABS	cut-SEQ	give-PFV
	I cut [his/her] hair for him/her.				

Example 5.58 is a transitive clause, while 5.59 is a benefactive. Language consultants indicate that while 5.58 is not ungrammatical, 5.59 sounds better. This is probably due to the fact that *[1]pin* - the inflectional head of the verbal construction - is fixed in the Tamang lexicon as a three-place predicate which should properly have three arguments. The felicitous ways of expressing an action performed for someone else are as follows:

5.60	*[1]ŋye*	*[2]ut = ki/* = ta*	*[1]kaŋ = Ø*	*[2]hu-ci*
	I.ERG	that = GEN/* = DAT	foot = ABS	wash-PFV
	I washed his/her feet.			

5.61	*[1]ŋye*	*[2]ut = ki*	*[1]kaŋ = Ø*	*[2]hu-si*	*[1]pin-ci*
	I.ERG	that = GEN	foot = ABS	wash-SEQ	give-PFV
	I washed his/her feet.				

5.62	*[1]ŋye*	*[2]ut = ta*	*[1]kaŋ = Ø*	*[2]hu-si*	*[1]pin-ci*
	I.ERG	that = DAT	foot = ABS	wash-SEQ	give-PFV
	I washed [his/her] feet for him/her.				

While a benefactive serial verb can work either with or without a raised possessor argument, it is incorrect to raise the possessor to argument status while using a simple transitive verb in these cases. However, this restriction is determined by the verb. While some verbs are fixed as transitive and can only incorporate a beneficiary by means of a benefactive serial construction with *[1]pin*, some

transitive verbs can acceptably take a beneficiary participant without the need to resort to this construction. For example:

5.63	*[1]ame*	*[1]ŋyin=ta*	*[1]kan=Ø*	*[3]yo-ci*
	mother.ERG	we.EXCL=DAT	rice=ABS	cook-PFV
	Mother cooked us a meal.			

In some ways these clauses are similar to intransitive clauses with an oblique complement described in section 5.3.2. In both cases, the valency of the predicate has not been raised but the non-compulsory extra participant (which is always oblique and dative) provides more information about the action expressed by the predicate and arguments. Case-marking of the arguments themselves is unaffected. All the examples of such clauses I have encountered are with verbs whose argument frames specify an inanimate P argument, which is invariably marked *=Ø*. As such, these clauses appear similar to ditransitives as they have formally similar or identical case-marking patterns. It appears unlikely that the dative-marked beneficiary could be added in clauses which have a patientive-marked P argument, which could be formed with verbs like 'kill', 'hit' which specify an animate or human patient. In such instances, the fact that both dative and patientive cases are marked by the same form *=ta* would increase the chances of confusing the P argument (if it was marked with *=ta*) with the beneficiary. While it might be possible to construct such clauses with an absolutive human patient (which, as mentioned section 5.3.1, is sometimes possible), I do not have any examples of such clauses and it seems likely that such verbs simply do not allow the addition of a dative-marked beneficiary complement. Such a situation would typically be expressed using a periphrastic postpositional phrase *=ki lagi* 'for x's sake' which is calqued on the Nepali expression *-ko lāgi* 'for x's sake'. For example:

5.64 *²a=ki* *lagi* *²pasaŋ=ta* *²puŋ-pa*

you=GEN sake Pasang=PAT hit-NOMZ

[I] beat up Pasang for you.

5.4.3 Three-participant clauses with instrumentals and locatives

As Margetts and Austin (2007) point out, events which involve three participants are not always expressed with ditransitive predicates. A number of other three-participant patterns are present in Tamang apart from the ditransitive frame with an oblique dative argument discussed in section 5.4.1. These always involve an oblique element, which can be marked with the ablative or the locative case. The element appears sometimes to be an argument and sometimes an adjunct - these can (usually) be distinguished according to whether the predicate necessitates three compulsory phrasal elements (one of which may not be a noun phrase), or whether a third element genuinely constitutes extra information which is not demanded by the structural frame of the predicate. An example of the former is the verb *²than* 'put' which requires an agent-like argument, a theme-like argument and a locative phrase which could be a noun phrase or an adverb. As the following examples show, the locative participant of *²than* can be either a locative noun phrase or an adverb. This information tends to be focal, so it is less common to omit this element of a clause with *²than* than it is to omit one of the two direct arguments:

5.65 *²a=ki* *¹wan=Ø* *¹teŋ=i* *²than-ci* *¹hoi*

you=GEN material=ABS upstairs.floor=LOC put-PFV hey

Hey [I] put your clothes upstairs.

5.66 *paral=Ø* *²ci:* *²than-o* *¹ya*

ricestalks=ABS here put-HORT PART

Put the ricestalks here okay?

An example where the oblique element appears to be an adjunct is when an instrument is expressed with the verb *[2]tha:* 'cut', which can be used as a transitive verb with just an agent (the participant controlling the cutting) and a patient (the participant which is cut). Although this action logically entails a cutting implement (as the human body cannot cut hard objects on its own), the verb does not make it compulsory to express this instrument, and if it is overtly expressed, it stands as an adjunct in the clause. For example:

5.67	*[1]sya = Ø*	*[2]tha:-pa*	*[3]cin-ci.*	*[2]a = ki*	*[3]koca = se*	*[2]tha:-pa*
	meat = ABS	cut-NOMZ	finish-PFV	you = GEN	khukuri = ABL	cut-NOMZ
	[I] cut up all the meat. [I] cut [it] with your khukuri.					

This example contains two sentences. The first contains two NPs (the cutter and the meat) and the second contains three (the cutter, the meat and the khukuri). The topical elements are omitted. The fact that the first sentence is felicitous without an instrument indicates that the instrument is (probably) an adjunct, and when the instrument is expressed, the marking with *= se* is ablative, not ergative case (as mentioned in section 4.2, ergative case only occurs on direct arguments).

However, some instruments are not so clearly definable as adjuncts, and these examples show some of the difficulties of separating participants from adjuncts in Tamang. The verb *[2]puŋ* 'beat' can be used with two arguments, a beater (A argument) and beaten person (P argument). However, when used with an (ablative) instrumental phrase it gives more specific information about how the beating was carried out. For example:

5.68	*[1]ŋye*	*[1]ʧasi = ta*	*[2]ʧheŋkan = se*	*[2]puŋ-ci*
	I.ERG	Tasi = PAT	stick = ABL	beat-PFV
	I beat Tasi with a stick.			

5.69 *[1]ŋye* *[1]ʈasi = ta* *[1]lephe* *[2]puŋ-ci*

I.ERG Tasi = PAT kick.ABL beat-PFV

I kicked Tasi.

The instrumental expression in example 5.69 is the only way of saying 'kick' in Tamang. This indicates that there is no lexical verb for 'kick', but rather this notion is expressed as more specific information with a generic verb which indicates beating. This stands as a good example of Margetts and Austin's (2007) assertion that the expression of three-participant events varies across languages. While beating someone with a stick is expressed with a three-participant instrumental phrase in both Tamang and English, beating someone with one's foot is expressed in the same way in Tamang, but with a lexical transitive verb in English. Comparisons such as those between the examples with *[2]tha:* and those with *[2]puŋ* illustrate the difficulty of establishing with certainty whether oblique elements are in fact adjuncts or more intimately related to the predicate as oblique participants. If the cutting implement or the instrument of beating was already established in the conversation and therefore left out in a given utterance, there appears little to distinguish their behaviour from that of arguments. On the other hand, three-participant clauses with instruments differ from ditransitives, as the second argument, if animate, is frequently marked with the patientive case. This is perhaps an argument in favour of analysing all three-participant clauses with ablative instruments as standard transitive clauses with an adjunct: the marking of A and P arguments is both variable as in transitive clauses, while the instrument is invariably ablative. This differs from the standard ditransitive frame which involves three arguments (A, T and G), of which only A has variable marking while T and G both have fixed marking. The marking of T is absolutive in all ditransitive clauses, while the marking of G is dative if the goal is human (as in the canonical ditransitives discussed in section 5.4.1), and locative if the goal is a place (as in example 5.65).

5.5 Causatives

Causative constructions are amongst the most problematic in the language in terms of clause structure and case-marking. Although they are common in South Asia in general (see Masica 1976: chapter 3), and attested in other languages of the Central Himalaya such as Nepali (see Riccardi 2003: 569) and Kham (see Watters 2002: 227-9), Tamang lacks morphological causatives. There are two types of periphrastic causative construction in Tamang, which I refer to as the 'direct causative' and the 'indirect causative' (see Shibatani 1976). Although the best synchronic analysis for both types appears to be that they are monoclausal (as I will discuss below),[68] their morphosyntactic structure and case-marking patterns differ from patterns which are quite general across non-causative clauses. It appears likely that causative constructions have developed diachronically from biclausal structures, as both causatives are complex constructions involving two verbal lexemes. However, more diachronic research would be required in order to make an authoritative analysis of how the constructions developed historically.

The direct causative construction is formed from the predicate suffixed with the resultative converbial suffix *-na* (see sections 3.3.2 and 7.3.1) followed by the verb *[1]la* 'do', which is inflected as the main verb.

5.70	*[3]ro=se*	*[3]cakka=Ø*	*[2]noŋ-na*	*[1]la-cim*
	friend=ERG	land=ABS	break-RES	do-EXPER
	He has messed up the land.[69] [Literally: 'Friend has broken the land'.]			

[68] This is also why I have included causatives in chapter 5, which deals with main clauses, rather than chapter 7, which covers clause linkage and dependent clauses.

[69] For non-causativized versions of the causative examples 5.70, 5.71, 5.74 and 5.75, please see examples 5.72, 5.73, 5.76 and 5.77.

5.71 *[2]ut = se* *[1]ŋa = ta* *[2]airak = Ø* *[2]thuŋ-na* *[1]la-ci*

that = ERG I = DAT[70] liquor = ABS drink-RES do-PFV

He forced me to drink liquor.

I have called this the direct causative because this construction indicates that the causer has a high degree of influence over the causation (see Givon 1980: 335) - typically acting directly on the causee and bringing about the state of affairs which is expressed in the predicate. These semantics entail that the causer must be human, and language consultants consider non-human causers infelicitous at best (to express an influential role of an inanimate object in causing the state of affairs in the main clause, Tamang would typically use a separate converbial clause - see example 7.13). As this construction indicates a low degree of autonomy on the behalf of the causee, it is more often used with inanimate causees (which are also ultimately patients), and thereby usually raises the valency of what was originally an intransitive clause from one to two participants (as in example 5.70), although it can be used with human causees which in turn act upon a patient, thereby raising the valency of what was originally a transitive clause from two to three (as in example 5.71). If used with a human causee it means that the agent forcibly made, or coerced the causee into performing the action detailed in the predicate. For animate causees, it is more common to use the indirect causative, which indicates a lower degree of agentive force. For the sake of comparison, the non-causativized versions of the above examples are as follows:

5.72 *[3]cakka = Ø* *[2]noŋ-cim*

land = ABS break-EXPER

The land has got messed up. [Literally: 'The land has broken'.]

[70] In my analysis, the case form *= ta* is dative in causative examples 5.71 and 5.75, while in 5.74 it is the homophonous patientive. As mentioned in the introduction to this section, causative constructions display uncanonical case-marking patterns. I will explain these over the course of this section.

5.73 *[1]ŋye* *[2]airak = Ø* *[2]thuŋ-ci*

I.ERG liquor = ABS drink-PFV

I drank liquor.

The indirect causative construction is formed from the stem of the predicate followed immediately by an inflected form the verb *[2]puŋ*, and as such appears structurally similar to serial and modal constructions (see sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.3).

5.74 *[1]ŋye* *[2]cyun = ta* *[4]tolo = no* *[1]ni* *[2]puŋ-ci*

I.ERG little.bro = PAT earlier = FOC go cause-PFV

I got little brother to leave earlier on.

5.75 *[1]ŋye* *[2]chaŋ = ta* *[4]ci = Ø* *[3]so* *[2]puŋ-ci*

I.ERG sis.in.law = DAT beer = ABS make cause-PFV

I got sister-in-law to make beer.

I have called this the indirect causative because the causation it expresses is of a less literal and coercive type than with the direct construction. This construction is more commonly used than the direct causative for clauses involving human causees - which are assumed to have their own volition and agency. As the construction raises the valency of the clause by one, what would be the A argument of a transitive clause or the S argument of an intransitive clause usually becomes the causee in this construction (as in example 5.74), which in the case of A arguments may act upon a patient (P argument, as in example 5.75). Translated into English, it would give a sense similar to ‘x gets y to do z’, or even ‘x allows y to do z’, rather than ‘x forces y to do z’ or ‘x (forcibly) makes y do z’ of the direct causative construction. The non-causativized versions of the above examples are as follows:

5.76 *[2]cyun=Ø* *[4]tolo=no* *[1]ni-ci*

little.bro=ABS earlier=FOC go-PFV

Little brother left earlier on.

5.77 *[2]chaŋ=se* *[4]ci=Ø* *[3]so-ci*

sis.in.law=ERG beer=ABS make-PFV

Sister-in-law made beer.

The indirect construction, in which the stem of the predicate is directly followed by the inflected verb of causation, displays a greater degree of structural integration (see Givon 1980: 371; Payne 1997: 306-7) between the two verb lexemes which make up the construction than the direct construction, which is formed of two inflected verbal stems (one with a dependent verb inflection and one with a main verb inflection). In this way, the two constructions seem to contradict the tendency noted by Givon (1980), that typically in causative constructions, the greater the degree of influence that is exercised by the agent over the patient or causee, the more structural integration is likely between the verb of causation and the predicate.

Although I analyse Tamang causative constructions as synchronically monoclausal, as mentioned above this analysis involves some complications. In terms of the verbal complex, the indirect causative, formed of a verb stem plus inflected secondary verb, at first glance looks like a serial verb construction (see sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.3). However, if we assume that *[2]puŋ* is a transitive verb meaning something like 'cause to', the complex is quite different from serial verb constructions. In a serial verb construction the participant which is associated with the state of affairs expressed in both parts of the serial construction (ie. the predicate and the inflected serial verb) is the same, whereas in the indirect causative construction, the first argument of *[2]puŋ* is the causer, while the second argument of *[2]puŋ*, the causee, is the argument which carries out the action of the verb which stands with only the stem. Another difference is that whereas serial verbs give a sense of one coherent state

of affairs despite being formed from two verb roots, the indirect causative construction seems more like two actions: the action of the causer asking or giving permission to the causee, and the action of the causee performing the predicate. The direct causative which involves the resulatative suffix *-na* (see section 7.3.1), initially appears to be converbial complex which has coalesced into a single construction similar to those discussed in section 7.3.2 (see example 7.38 in particular). However, in all converbial constructions, the first argument of the converb is coreferential with the S/A argument of the main clause (see example 5.78 and section 7.3.2), while in direct causative constructions (eg. examples 5.70 and 5.71) this is not the case. Both the direct and indirect causative constructions are therefore uncanonical with regard to their participant reference.

5.78	*[1]ŋye*	*[2]mren-na*	*[1]kan=Ø*	*[1]ca-ci*
	I.ERG	be.satisfied-RES	rice=ABS	eat-PFV

I ate enough to satisfy me. [Lit: 'I ate with the result that I was satisfied.']

The same applies to case-marking, which is also problematic in both the direct and indirect constructions. If we consider the non-causativized examples above (5.72, 5.73, 5.76 and 5.77) - in each of the monovalent clauses, the S argument is absolutive; in the bivalent clauses, the A argument is ergative and the P argument absolutive, ie. standard patterns for perfective transitive clauses. In the equivalent causative sentences (5.70, 5.71, 5.74 and 5.75), most of the arguments which are absolutive in non-causativized clauses remain absolutive, however the A arguments of the non-causative transitive clauses, which are both marked with ergative, as well as *[2]cyun* in example 5.74, are marked with *=ta* in the causativized clauses where they become the causee.

It is possible to propose that the case-marking patterns evident in causative constructions indicate that they are biclausal, and that the causee is marked for a position in the first clause, where it is acted upon by the causer. Under this analysis, the case-marking on the causee would follow the standard absolutive/patientive opposition for inanimate and human P arguments (see chapter 4) and

the *=se* marking on the causer would be best analysed as ergative, as the causer is also a direct argument, but we would also need to propose that the embedded clause (ie. the clause whose state of affairs is caused by the causer and verb of causation in the main clause) involves a compulsory gapping of the causee, whether it is an A or an S argument of this clause, as follows:

5.79 *[3]ro=se [3]cakka=Ø [[3]cakka=Ø] [2]noŋ-na] [1]la-cim*

friend=ERG land=ABS [[GAP] break-RES] do-EXPER

He has messed up the land.

5.80 *[2]ut=se [1]ŋa=ta [[1]ŋye] [2]airak=Ø [2]thuŋ-na] [1]la-ci*

that=ERG I=PAT [[GAP] liquor=ABS drink-RES] do-PFV

He forced me to drink liquor.

5.81 *[1]ŋye [2]cyun=ta [4]tolo=no [[2]cyun=Ø] [1]ni] [2]puŋ-ci*

I.ERG little.bro=PAT earlier=FOC [[GAP] go] cause-PFV

I got little brother to leave earlier on.

5.82 *[1]ŋye [2]chaŋ=ta [[chaŋ=se] [4]ci=Ø [3]so] [2]puŋ-ci*

I.ERG sis.in.law=PAT [[GAP] beer=ABS make] cause-PFV

I got sister-in-law to make beer.

Although certain types of dependent clauses in Tamang do involve gapping (see sections 7.6 and 7.7), the problem with a biclausal analysis, as mentioned above, is that the participant reference of the dependent verbal lexemes does not match with their use outside of causatives - therefore under a synchronic analysis their function cannot be considered to be analogous. The proposed gapped S/A

argument in the dependent clause in each of examples 5.79, 5.80, 5.81 and 5.82 is coreferent with the P argument of the proposed main clause. However in synchronic usage, the S/A argument of a reusulatative converb in *-na* can only be coreferent with S/A in the main clause (see section 7.3.1); the same would no doubt apply to a serial verb, aside from the fact that serial verbs in Tamang govern only one, not two sets of arguments (see 3.3.1 and 3.3.3). It is therefore difficult to justify an analysis of either type of causative as biclausal by comparison with other structurally similar constructions in the language.

Despite the complications (mentioned above) of a monoclausal analysis, this analysis can provide a coherent explanation for the patterns of participant reference and case-marking which we see in causative constructions. Under such an analysis, the causer is consistently ergative and the causee (which is also ultimately the patient in a two-participant causative clause) is marked according to the usual absolutive/patientive opposition based on animacy (as in examples 5.70 and 5.74). Three-participant causatives (such as examples 5.71 and 5.75) initially appear to present a problem for this analysis, as an animate causee is marked with dative and the patient which it acts upon is absolutive. However, Alsina (1992) has shown that in some languages (eg. French, Turkish), the patient in a causative construction keeps the same case-marking it would have had in a non-causative construction, and causees are assigned the next available case in a hierarchy of oblique cases. The fact that the ultimate patient (whether the causative sentence involves two or three participants) is absolutive/patientive according to animacy, as in main clauses, indicates that it is a direct argument. As mentioned in section 2.4, each clause can possess a maximum of two direct arguments. Therefore an animate causee (if present, as in examples 5.71 and 5.75) is obliquely marked with the dative case, the next available case after the direct cases (generally ergative and absolutive, or ergative and patientive) have been assigned.

It is possible to omit topical participants in the same manner as in normal main clauses. Therefore examples such as the following are normal.

5.83 *[1]ŋye [Ø] [2]noŋ-na [1]la-ci*

I.ERG [topical causee] break-RES do-PFV

I broke [it].

5.84 *[Ø] [Ø] [3]mer [2]puŋ-ci*

[topical causer] [topical causee] sleep cause-PFV

[I/he/she etc.] let [him/her] sleep.

5.85 *[1]ŋye [Ø] [4]ci = Ø [3]so [2]puŋ-ci*

I.ERG [topical causee] beer = ABS make cause-PFV

I got [him/her] to make beer.

5.86 *[1]ŋye [2]chaŋ = ta [Ø] [3]so [2]puŋ-ci*

I.ERG sis.in.law = DAT [topical patient] make cause-PFV

I got sister-in-law to make [it].

5.6 Verbs with clausal complements

Certain verbs in Tamang have clausal complements, which can be either finite (involving an inflected verb) or non-finite (involving a nominalized form). I will discuss the complement clauses themselves in more detail in section 7.6. This section will focus on the matrix verbs and the different groups which can be distinguished according to the types of complement phrase which they can control.

5.6.1 Verbs taking non-finite complements

These verbs can be divided into those capable of taking direct nominal arguments or oblique nominal complements, and those which can only take clausal complements.

The first group includes verbs such as *[1]kyal* 'leave, quit', *[2]mret* 'forget', *[3]ʈan* 'remember', *[4]pran* 'wait for', *[1]lop* 'learn', which can take either a nominal second argument or a phrasal complement in the form of a nominalized verb. In their use with nominal arguments these are transitive verbs. For example:

5.87 *[1]ŋye* *[2]ut=ta* *[1]kyal-ci*
I.ERG he=PAT leave-PFV
I left him.

5.88 *[1]ŋye* *surti=Ø* *[2]thuŋ-pa* *[1]kyal-ci*
I.ERG cigarette=ABS drink-NOMZ leave-PFV
I quit smoking.

Some intransitive verbs which can take oblique nominal complements (see section 5.3.2) can also take non-finite clausal complements. These include verbs which can take dative-marked nominal complements such as *[2]loŋ* 'fear' and *[2]pet* 'be ashamed', as well as those which can take locative-marked complements such as *[1]ni* 'come' and *[1]kha* 'come'. Sentences involving complement clauses with verbs of motion as the matrix verb are often referred to as 'purpose clauses', although in Tamang there is no formal difference between these and other complement clauses. Sentences involving these verbs as the matrix verb usually mark the (nominalized) verbal complement with either the dative or the locative case. I will discuss these types of dependent clause in more detail in section 7.6.2, but for now here is one example:

5.89 *²a = ta* *¹tam = Ø* *²paŋ-pa = i* *¹kha-pa*

you = DAT word = ABS say-NOMZ = LOC come-NOMZ

[I] came to talk to you.

There are also predicates which cannot take nominal arguments, but only a nominalized verbal complement phrase. The best examples are *¹me:* 'try' and *aʈ ¹la* 'dare'.

5.90 *¹siŋ = Ø* *²tha:-pa* *¹me:-pa* *¹wa* *²tha:* *³a-¹kham-ni*

wood = ABS cut-NOMZ try-NOMZ PART cut NEG-be.able-PFV

[I] tried to cut the wood but [I] couldn't.[71]

The verb *¹la* 'do' is an atypical example, as it is semantically vacuous, indicating generic action or activity. It is used in non-finite complement constructions (see section 7.6.2) as well as what appear more like auxiliary constructions with a predicate in the inceptive participle form in *-te/-i*. The former construction means 'to start doing something' while the latter has a similar meaning, but focuses on the inception of the action rather than the action itself (see section 3.3.7.5).

5.6.2 Verbs taking finite clausal complements

Some Tamang predicates take clausal complements which involve a finite rather than a nominalized verb. Relatively high-frequency verbs in this category include *²paŋ* 'say', *³pi* 'say', *⁴man* 'want, think', *as ¹la* 'hope'. These verbs have somewhat different characteristics with regard to their transitivity. While *²paŋ* 'say' and *³pi* 'say' can both stand as transitive verbs with the said thing as a pronominal (eg. *²a = se ²tai = Ø ²paŋ-ci?* (you = ERG what = ABS say-PFV?) 'what did you say?'), the others are intransitive and are only used with verbal complement phrases.

[71] Note that in this example, the verb *¹me:-pa* is a backgrounded main verb (see section 3.5.3).

Tamang does not have a strategy for indirect quotation of speech as in English, but reports speech as if it was direct speech (or using the reported speech marker *[1]ro*, see section 3.3.6.4). This preference also entails that Tamang does not use non-finite structures for reported speech such as English 'I told you to come quickly'. This sentence is expressed in Tamang as:

5.91	*[2]yo:na*	*[1]kho*	*[2]paŋ-ci*
	quickly	come.HORT	say-PFV
	[I] said 'come quickly'.		

The main verb *[2]paŋ-ci* itself is enough to indicate that the preceding material is a direct quote, however it is also possible to state more explicitly that the reported speech is a quote by using one of the complementizers *[3]pisima/[3]pisi, [2]paŋsima/[2]paŋsi* or *ki* (see section 7.6.3).

5.7 Complex predicates

As mentioned in section 3.3.1, a number of predicates in Tamang have the appearance of being phrasal, being formed from a semantically light verb (most commonly *[1]la* 'do' and *[1]ta* 'become') and a non-verbal element, which can be nominal or adverbial. Some of these expressions can be analysed as complex predicates which do not play a role in the participant structure of a clause. However, some light verb expressions present complications regarding the role of their non-verbal element in the clause structure, not all of which can be satisfactorily resolved at this stage.

The group involving an adverbial element are relatively unproblematic, as they do not raise questions with regard to the valency of the predicate or the clause. For example:

5.92 *[1]ŋa=Ø* *[1]pe:ru* *[1]ta-ci*

I=ABS horizontal become-PFV

I lay down.

5.93 *[1]ŋye* *[1]pe:ru* *[1]la-ci*

I.ERG horizontal do-PFV

I laid [it] flat.

However, complex predicates involving a nominal element are more complicated, as it is not often completely clear whether the nominal element is an argument or whether it has been incorporated to become part of the predicate.[72] Definition of complex predicates is therefore difficult, as diagnostics often appear contradictory. It may also be the case that various expressions of this type are at different stages of development with regard to the degree of incorporation of the nominal into the predicate. If an argument becomes incorporated into the predicate itself as a set expression, it should follow that the valency of a clause involving the expression is one less than it was before the incorporation. However if this is the case, this process appears to give rise to syntactic idiosyncrasies which go against standard patterns. For example:

5.94 *[2]utne* *[1]cyok* *[1]la-ci*

that.PL.ERG kiss do-PFV

They kissed (each other).

As mentioned in section 5.2.2, reciprocals are treated in Tamang in the same manner as intransitive verbs and their argument is always zero-marked. The ergative marking on the argument in example 5.94 appears to be a vestige of the fact that the expression *[1]cyok [1]la* 'kiss' was originally conceived

[72] In this thesis, I consistently mark nominals which have a role at the clause level for case, including absolutive (represented by *=Ø*). I do not mark case on nominals which clearly seem to be incorporated into a light verb construction (eg. *[3]ro [1]la* 'help', which transparently involves the noun *[3]ro* 'friend'). This section deals with borderline cases.

as involving a second argument, the lexical noun *[1]cyok* 'kiss'. Threfore case-marking patterns are not a reliable guide for indicating the valency of a given expression, and whether it is a complex predicate or not.

Expressions which appear similar to complex predicates exist on a number of patterns, most prominently those where an ostensible one-time P argument has been incorporated into the predicate, and those where a one-time S argument has been incorporated into the predicate. Examples of the latter include a number of expressions related to bodily functions:

([1]ŋa=ta) [2]ka:(=Ø?) [1]yu-ci	: (I'm) bleeding
([1]ŋa=ta) [2]ʈu:(=Ø?) [1]yu-ci	: (I'm) sweating
([1]ŋa=ta) [2]cyam(=Ø?) [1]yu-ci	: (I) need to piss
([1]ŋa=ta) [1]li(=Ø?) [1]yu-ci	: (I) need to shit

If the person affected by the function is expressed (which is frequently not necessary, as the person reference is usually inferable from evidentials and implicatures), it is marked with *=ta*. If the constructions are indeed complex predicates, it follows that the affected person, rather than being a complement as in an inverse construction, is an S argument, one which must be compulsorily marked like a P argument (therefore patterning as Sp in Dixon's 1994 definition). This analysis is problematic, as there are no non-complex intransitive predicates which govern compulsory marking with *=ta* on their argument. Furthermore, the nominal elements of all of the above expression can be used as lexical nouns. It therefore seems more appropriate to analyse these as inverse constructions (see section 5.3.3). A similar construction exists for a number of expressions involving emotions, which are formed from a derived noun indicating the emotion together with the verb *[1]kha* 'come':

([1]ŋa = ta) [2]loŋpa(= Ø?) [1]kha-ci : (I) am/was afraid

([1]ŋa = ta) [2]petta(= Ø?) [1]kha-ci : (I) am/was ashamed

([1]ŋa = ta) [2]ŋyetta(= Ø?) [1]kha-ci : (I) started laughing

These expressions are an alternative to using the intransitive verbs *[2]loŋ* 'be afraid' etc. While the involved person is generally marked with *= ta*, it can also be marked with zero. One can therefore say *ŋa = Ø ŋyetta kha-ci* (I = ABS laugh come-PFV) 'I started laughing'). Is this a case where an inverse construction has developed to become a true complex predicate which now allows zero marking of its S argument? It is difficult to resolve this question without more data.

There is no conclusive evidence from main clauses themselves that the above constructions are complex predicates. Their behaviour when subordinated (for example, relativized) is also inconclusive. Relative clauses in Tamang are formed from a nominalized verb, which behaves in a similar manner to a modifier of the head noun of the clause (see section 7.7.1). In the relative clause, the argument which is coreferential with the head noun is compulsorily gapped. For example:

5.95 *[[4]tim = Ø [Ø] [3]so-pa] [3]mi-pakal = Ø [2]khanto [1]ni-ci*

[house = ABS [they] build-NOMZ] person-PL = Ø where go-PFV

Where did the people who are building the house go?

Arguments other than the relativized head are overtly expressed in the relative clause (see section 7.7.1 for more details). NPs marked with zero are generally interpreted as being P arguments of the relative clause, and if a relative clause has an overt P argument then the gapped element (ie. the pivot) will be understood as the A argument. However, when expressions of the kind discussed above are relativized, the apparently nominal element appears a part of a single phrase with the

verbal element, and clearly does not have argument status. They are therefore relativized in the same manner as intransitive verbs. For example:

[²ki ¹phi:-pa] ³mi	: [water rise-NOMZ] person	: the/a man who is thirsty
[²ka: ¹yu-pa] ³mi	: [blood come.down.NOMZ] person	: the/a man who is bleeding
[²petta ¹kha-pa] ³mi	: [shame come-NOMZ] person	: the/a man who is ashamed

However, this is also the pattern when inverse clauses are relativized. For example:

[²airak ³roŋ-pa] ³mi	: [liquor be.tasty-NOMZ] person	: the/a man who likes liquor

From the discussion above it appears that there are unresolved questions regarding the status of complex predicates with an incorporated S argument. The same must be said for those with a generic P argument such as *¹tam ²paŋ* 'speak' and *⁴maŋ ¹mraŋ* 'have a dream'. Case-marking does not help, as both of these expressions would tend to involve ergative in the past/perfective (eg. *¹ŋye ⁴maŋ ¹mraŋ-ci* (I.ERG dream see-PFV) 'I had a dream') on the same pattern as *¹cyok ¹la* 'kiss'. Relativization also offers no solutions, as when these expressions are relativized they have the same overt structure as transitive clauses. For example:

5.96	*[¹tam(=Ø?)*	*²paŋ-pa]*	*³mi=Ø*	*¹ŋyi*	*²asyaŋ*	*³hinla*
	[word(=ABS?)	say-NOMZ]	person=ABS	I.GEN	uncle	COPE.NPST
	The man who is talking is my uncle.					

The only structures which can safely be identified as complex predicates are those where the non-verbal element cannot be used as a lexical noun outside of a complex construction, for instance *¹su ¹kha* 'hurt' and *²tha: ¹mu* 'know' (or more precisely 'be known'). But even these raise some questions which are difficult to answer. The latter (which governs two participants) strictly

conditions *=ta* on the knowing participant and zero on the known participant and appears to have been lexicalized as an inverse predicate expression (eg. *[2]ut=ki [1]min=Ø [1]ŋa=ta [2]tha: [1]are* (that=GEN name=ABS I=DAT know.NEG) 'I don't know his name'), while the former (which governs only one participant) has variable case-marking depending on whether a person or a part of their body is involved. For example:

5.97 *[1]ŋa=ta* *[1]su [1]kha-ci*
I=PAT hurt-PFV
I'm in pain.

5.98 *[1]kaŋ=Ø* *[1]su [1]kha-ci*
foot=ABS hurt-PFV
[My] foot hurts.

The case-marking associated with *[1]su [1]kha* 'hurt' suggests that at one point *[1]su* might have been a lexical noun (although now it is not), and an idiosyncratic case pattern on what is now the S argument of the expression has developed due to the importance of animacy in determining patientive case-marking (see section 4.5.1). More detailed study of complex predicates will be necessary in order to answer all these questions.

6. Relations in the main clause: case, alignment, perspective and the lexicon

As I have shown in chapters 4 and 5, Tamang possesses a number of patterns in main clauses, and case-marking which is influenced by a combination of semantic and syntactic factors. The mixed nature and variability of case-marking of direct arguments does not lend itself well to the discussion of grammatical relations purely in terms of syntactic categories such as subject and object, or in terms of semantic roles. As Bickel and Nichols (2009: 304-5) note, languages generally display variations in their alignment patterns across different constructions. This variation can also be influenced by factors such as the lexical requirements of particular predicates, splits due to tense/aspect/modality, the semantic properties of participants etc. Furthermore, not all grammatical rules may target the same element of a construction: for instance, morphological alignment in the main clause (expressed through case-marking, agreement etc.) may not pattern with cross-clausal patterns of syntactic alignment (access to pivot status etc.). Over the next two chapters, I will consider patterns of clausal relations which emerge from looking main and dependent clauses. This chapter will focus on issues in the main clause, and chapter 7 will look at patterns of clause linkage, some of which revolve around pivots (see Foley 2007: 389-402) and some of which do not.

This chapter will begin with a discussion of the use of case markers in the main clause (section 6.1). This will aim to distinguish the syntacticized aspects of their use from their semantic properties, with regard to both direct and oblique participants. It will also discuss the variable and non-variable patterns of case-marking and the importance of these, and whether case morphemes can be divided into direct and oblique sets. It will then look at alignment of participants in light of typological literature, and assess how well Tamang fits with patterns which have been discussed for other langauges (see section 6.2). Following this, it will consider how clausal relations in Tamang interact with pragmatics and the lexicon: this will involve a more detailed presentation of the variety of

strategies (including word order, argument omission and case-marking) by which Tamang can give different perspectives on a proposition without derivations such as passive and antipassive which rely on syntacticized clausal relations (see section 6.3), followed by a discussion of how these factors interact with ambitransitivity of verbal stems in the lexicon (see section 6.4). Finally, it will propose that an alternative model of alignment, where participants are seen as points along a trajectory (see Tournadre 1994), can relatively neatly accommodate many of the patterns of Tamang clausal relations where the standard alignment models run into difficulty (see section 6.5).

6.1 Case-marking in the main clause

From a perspective of other Tibeto-Burman languages, Tamang appears to stand in an intermediate position between languages such as Kham (Watters 2002), Chepang (Caughley 1982), Yakkha (Schackow 2014) and other Kiranti langauges, where clausal relations can be described with reference to generalized syntactic factors, and invariable case frames governed by individual predicates[73] (see Dixon 1994: 23, and Foley and van Valin's (1984: 124) 'reference-dominated' type), and languages such as Meithei (Chelliah 1997), Qiang (LaPolla 2003) and Chinese (LaPolla 1993), where clausal relations reflect semantic and pragmatic information relevant in a specific utterance (Foley and van Valin's (1984: 124) 'role-dominated' type). In this section I will aim to distinguish the syntactic properties of Tamang morphemes from their pure semantics, and will consider them in terms of their variability and their use on particular types of arguments.

The extent to which case-related meanings (be they syntactic or semantic) and pragmatic meanings associated with case morphemes are entwined or separate is a tricky question. Chelliah (2009) argues for analysing the semantic-related and pragmatic-related instances of certain nominal

[73] It is also interesting to note that those Tibeto-Burman languages which have been analysed as having syntacticized clausal relations (ie. Kham, Chepang, the Kiranti languages etc.) tend also to be the languages which have head-marking characteristics at the clause level, with cross-referencing of arguments on the verb.

inflectional morphemes in Meithei as separate, homophonous semantic and pragmatic morphemes.[74] However I refer to pragmatically-determined uses of case morphemes in Tamang using the same case terminology for the morpheme. This is partly because the full range of pragmatic meanings associated with the morphemes could still benefit from more research, and partly because Tamang has a separate set of morphemes which encode purely pragmatic status and information structure (see section 3.5.2), without the syntactic and semantic dimensions of case morphemes. I will consider the pragmatic uses of case morphemes, which interact closely with other variables such as information structure and the lexicon, in section 6.3.

6.1.1 Types of noun phrase: a recap

An important starting point in questions of case patterns and alignment is the way in which we distinguish between the different types of noun phrase and their relationship to the predicate. With regard to Tamang, in section 2.4 I defined those elements which are compulsory and semantically subcategorized by a predicate as participants and those which are not as adjuncts (although as discussed in section 5.4.3, there are some complications to this distinction, particularly with three-place predicates which subcategorize either an NP or an adverbial for one participant slot, and with some clauses involving instruments). Amongst participants I defined those which can stand in relation to the predicate with no overt case-marking as direct arguments, and those which cannot as oblique participants. This distinction is made based on the participant frames of predicates in the lexicon (Lexical-Functional Grammar's 'a-structure', see Bresnan 2001: 10-3) rather than the case-marking in any individual utterance. Direct arguments do not always have zero case-marking, but it is possible under the right conditions for a direct argument to be zero-marked. By this definition, the elements S, A, P and T are direct arguments. Oblique elements - that is, those which cannot stand without overt case-marking - include the G arguments of a ditransitive clause (which must be

[74] In a similar manner to my analysis of Tamang forms *=se* and *=ta* as each representing two homophonous case morphemes, based on different syntactic behaviours (see section 4.2).

marked with dative), beneficiaries (also dative), complements of intransitive and inverse clauses (some of which are marked with dative, some locative). All adjunct NPs are also oblique.

The fact that Tamang makes use of both zero anaphora of topical participants and suppression of participants which are not relevant to the communicative purpose of an utterance (see section 2.3) can cause some difficulties in identifying the number of participants which are present in a clause, as NPs in the verb's participant frame might still be present in the logical structure of the clause but not overtly articulated according to zero anaphora, or they might have been suppressed, and therefore not be present at all. The fact that a number of verbal lexemes are ambitransitive (see sections 2.2 and 6.4), possessing alternative participant frames with different valencies, also complicates watertight diagnoses of the valency of individual uses of a given predicate. The only way to adjudicate whether an ostensibly absent NP is topical is at the discourse level: if it is recoverable from the preceding discourse it can be considered topical and its omission due to zero anaphora, whereas if no participant with which an omitted NP can conceivably be coreferential is recoverable in the preceding discourse, we must conclude that this is a case of argument suppression (see section 2.3). As van Breugel (2008: 367-8) points out, it is not always possible for hearers to identify which of these is in the mind of the speaker.

6.1.2 Direct arguments: semantic aspects of case-marking

The non-syntactic case-marking tendencies of Tibeto-Burman langauges have been discussed by a number of linguists (Bhat 1991; LaPolla 1992, 1995, 2004; Chelliah 1997; Hyslop 2010; Chelliah and Hyslop 2011 *inter alia*), and it appears that, although the details vary from language to language, similar factors influencing case assignment often come into play. If case is assigned to arguments by a predicate, the valency of the predicate constitutes an important factor in determining case patterns. However, Chelliah and Hyslop (2011: 3) point out that we should be careful not to assume it is the crucial determining factor:

> In fact, the valency factor may be epiphenomenal: as indicated in the articles in this collection, the agentive marker can indicate agent volition, control, directed activity, creation and transformation, and personal choice, all features which relate more closely to the semantics of bivalent verbs (such as *kick* and *buy*) than to monovalent verbs (such as *sleep* and *walk*).

This citation flags up a number of the semantic factors which are often proposed as being significant in influencing case in various Tibeto-Burman languages, and which can generally be related to the lexical semantics of individual predicates. Chelliah and Hyslop (2011) also note that other factors which have been claimed to play a role in case assignment in one language or another include contrastive focus, disambiguation of roles, person, the referential status of arguments, tense and aspectual properties of the clause, whether the clause is declarative or negative, the iconic or phonological weight of the argument NPs, and the status of particular verbs or constructions such as causatives or verbs of speech. Several of these parameters are also highlighted in Dixon's (1994: chapter 4) discussion of split systems. Dixon (1994: 104) also acknowledges that case-marking may be determined by a combination of factors, although he does not discuss as many factors in detail. I propose that some - though not all - of these factors play a significant role in case-marking in Tamang. Furthermore, some factors can be subsumed by, or at least closely related to others. Person does not appear to play a role in case assignment, other than that 1st and 2nd person arguments have an overwhelming tendency to be animate (which is a significant factor). I have also not noticed that that the weight of NPs or negation (or for that matter, interrogatives) has an effect on case-marking patterns.

Two proposals on split and mixed case systems appear to be especially useful for this discussion. One is that of LaPolla (1992, 2004), who argues that case-marking in Tibeto-Burman languages is determined above all by the need to disambiguate argument roles, which is done sometimes by the overt marking of an agent and sometimes by the overt marking of a non-agent ('anti-ergative').

DeLancey (1982) on the other hand proposes that inherent semantic parameters (above all time reference and aspect) arising from our 'viewpoint' towards an event play a decisive role in case assignment in split systems.

LaPolla (2004) proposes that markers arose independently in different branches of Tibeto-Burman to disambiguate argument roles in cases of potential confusion. In this process, he conjectures, markers which originally had concrete spatial meanings were progressively extended into more abstract meanings, through different processes and at different rates in individual languages but following similar trends across the family due to tendencies influenced by typological similarities. The typical pattern was for ablative markers to be extended to instrumental functions (2004: 64-5), then agentive functions and in some languages to systemic ergative marking; and for locative markers to be extended to allatives, datives and ultimately to patients (2004: 64-5). These developments have reached different stages in different languages, the fact that the markers have been extended according to semantic principles rather than syntactic requirements such as government allows some scope for their meanings to develop idiosyncratically in different languages. He proposes that markers derived from the ablative (ie. agentive/ergative) markers are typically associated with parameters such as volition and control, while the locative-derived (ie. patientive/anti-ergative) markers are associated with affectedness and lack of agency with regard to the state of affairs expressed in the clause.

If semantic factors such as these are paramount, they might be able to explain patterns such as the acceptable use of the ergative marker on S arguments of one-argument verbs whose semantics involve control over the action. For instance, it is possible to say *[1]ŋye [1]ni-ci* (I.ERG go-PFV) 'I went' as opposed to *[1]ŋa=Ø [1]ni-ci* (I=ABS go-PFV) 'I went' and to do the same with other agentive intransitive verbs like *[4]yar* 'run'; whereas this is not possible with patientive intransitive verbs such as *[3]mer* 'sleep', *[1]pap* 'trip'. It appears that when the ergative case is used with S arguments of agentive/volitional intransitive verbs, it indicates a greater amount of control over the

action than if the absolutive was used. However, they cannot easily explain the compulsory use of ergative in perfective clauses for non-agentive S arguments such as *[3]pyuŋ* 'cough', representing a problem for a simple analysis (see section 5.2.1) of ergative as indicating agency.

Control and volition could help to explain the fact that the ergative case is not always used in two-argument, transitive clauses. For instance, both of the following examples can be used:

6.1 *[1]ŋa = Ø* *ʈiphi = Ø* *[1]cyaː-ci*
I = ABS television = ABS watch-PFV
I watched television.

6.2 *[1]ŋye* *ʈiphi = Ø* *[1]cyaː-ci*
I.ERG television = ABS watch-PFV
I watched television.

The difference between the two appears to be the level of volition and independent choice with which the speaker carried out the action. Example 6.1 indicates that the speaker ended up watching television not exactly by their own choice, but because there was little else to do, while 6.2 gives a stronger sense that the speaker actively wanted to watch television and went to the place where the television is in order to watch it. However, the variation between ergative and absolutive marking of the A argument in perfective clauses is not possible for all transitive verbs, a number of which appear to govern compulsory ergative in certain contexts (see section 6.1.3). The role of agency and volition in the use of ergative in specific utterances is therefore not general across the lexicon.

It is also clear that the ergative case in Tamang is used more frequently in utterances referring to past events with perfective aspectual qualities than it is for ongoing/habitual (ie. imperfective) states of affairs in the present or past. We might therefore infer that time reference and/or aspect affects its

use. Split case systems influenced by tense and aspect are common across a large swathe of central and southern Eurasia, attested in Indo-Aryan and Iranian languages (Klaiman 1985), as well as Armenian (Dixon 1994: 100), Georgian (DeLancey 1982: 175-8), and Tibetan (Tournadre 1991). The presence of such a system in Tamang can therefore be seen as fitting in comfortably with areal tendencies. Both DeLancey (1982: 167) and Dixon (1994: 99) emphasize that if a language has a split between nominative-accustive and ergative-absolutive patterns based on tense and aspect, then ergative patterns are always associated most strongly with perfective aspect and past tense, although Dixon (1994: 101) also notes that in some languages (eg. Newar) it is also compulsory in the future/irrealis, and can also be used in durative/progressive. The variable use of the ergative even in imperfective clauses appears to be common in the Tibeto-Burman languages of the Cental Himalayan region, and is even evident in Indo-Aryan Nepali (Verbeke 2013b). Ergative marking in Tamang is quite similar to what Dixon describes for Newar, however it is not compulsory in future or even in perfective clauses, although it is more common in these contexts (especially in the perfective) than in progressive and habitual clauses.

First let us examine the links between ergativity and perfectivity/past time, before considering how it might be expanded from this core area into non-past and imperfective contexts. DeLancey (1982) states that there is a natural link between time, the completion of an event and the relative prominence of its participants, which he refers to as the 'viewpoint' from which one considers an event/state of affairs. He represents these relations as follows:

> Source > > > > > > Goal
> Agent > > > > > > Patient
> Onset > > > > > > Termination (DeLancey 1982: 172)

Speakers can take alternative viewpoints regarding a state of affairs, viewing it either from the point of its onset or of its termination. Utterances referring to incomplete/non-realized events (ie.

imperfective, non-past, irrealis) tend to take a view from the onset, which can include an ongoing state of affairs, while those referring to complete/realized events (ie. perfective, past, realis) tend to view the state of affairs from the point of its completion. Furthermore, DeLancey proposes (1982: 172-3) that our viewpoint regarding completed actions (ie. the termination of the event) naturally gravitates towards the patient where the outcome is most evident, while out viewpoint regarding incomplete actions (ie. the onset) gravitates towards the agent who is most involved in making the event happen.[75] Dixon (1994: 98-9) likens this tendency to a detective novel: a detective finds clues (ie. outcomes of completed actions) by which he makes predictions about the future actions of the criminal. The fact that our viewpoint gravitates towards the agent in imperfective and non-past contexts, and towards the patient in perfective and past contexts entails that these roles can have a tendency to be unmarked (ie. nominative in the imperfective/non-past, and absolutive in the perfective/past) - unless the strength of a nominative-accusative system based on the primacy of S/A arguments overrides this. In some languages such as Georgian (DeLancey 1982: 175-8) and most Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991: 342-3), the case split between perfective/past and other contexts is neat and regular, therefore we can say that tense/aspect is the overriding factor which determines the split system. However in languages such as Tamang, where ergative marking can be used in non-past and non-perfective contexts, and is not always compulsory in perfective clauses, it appears that other factors come into play.

One point which appears to be relevant is that two-argument clauses whose second argument is referential and individuated have been analysed as being more prototypically transitive than those whose second argument is non-referential and not individuated (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252-3). LaPolla et al. (2011: 476-7) argue that a clause with a unbounded second argument should not even be considered transitive (see section 2.2), and note that two-argument clauses which have a relatively low degree of transitivity often display different syntactic behaviour from those which are

[75] Semantics associated with action of individual predicates also appears to play a role in the gravitation of viewpoint towards agents and patients. I will discuss this in more detail with reference to patterns of ambitransitivity in section 6.4.

highly transitive (ie. those with a specific patient which is wholly affected by the action of the predicate), due to the fact that although the latter are accomplishments and therefore involve an inherent end, the former are activities whose action is unbounded. Accomplishments, by virtue of being telic, sit more easily with perfective utterances as it is relatively easy to delimit the terminal point of the action. This is more difficult with the unbounded nature of activities.

English makes fairly clear distinctions between bounded and unbounded quantities of nouns though definite and indefinite articles and compulsory marking of plurality. Tamang is less explicit in this regard. There are morphological devices to indicate the quantity of nouns as being 'more than one' (the plural suffix *-pakal* and the collective suffix *-cyappa*). The language does not have articles, although the numeral *[4]ki* 'one' and the addressee-centred demonstrative *[2]ucu* 'that' (see section 3.4.2) can be used to give meanings similar to English *a* and *the* (although more marked and emphatic). But in the majority of patient noun phrases in spontaneous speech, these strategies are not used. Unless there is a compelling reason for the speaker to highlight whether he/she is talking about one object or many, a particular object or any object of that kind, or a particular defined quantity of a substance as opposed to an undefined amount of that substance, these variables are generally left unspecified, and the interpretation is made according to the discourse context.

However, it appears that in Tamang the ergative case, which as discussed above is associated with perfectivity and telicity, can be used to signal that a second argument is bounded and the action is telic/perfective. One can get an idea of how this strategy is used from the following examples:

6.3	*[2]tilma*	*[1]ŋyina = Ø*	*[2]airak = Ø*	*thuŋ-ci*
	yesterday	we.EXCL = ABS	liquor = ABS	drink-PFV
	Yesterday evening we drank liquor.			

6.4 *[2]tilma* *[1]ŋyine* *[2]airak = Ø* *[2]thuŋ-ci*

yesterday we.EXCL.ERG liquor = ABS drink-PFV

Yesterday evening we drank the liquor (ie. all of it).

6.5 *[1]ŋa = Ø* *[1]phum-cyappa = Ø* *[1]ca-ci*

I = ABS egg-COLL = ABS eat-PFV

I ate eggs and stuff.

6.6 *[1]ŋye* *[1]phum-cyappa = Ø* *[1]ca-ci*

I.ERG egg-COLL = ABS eat-PFV

I ate the eggs and the other stuff.[76]

The association of the ergative case with perfectivity entails that it is quite uniformly used for perfective clauses with a specified and bounded patient (ie. with clearly telic semantics), while for clauses with an unspecified quantity of patient (either overtly, by using the plural marker, or ambiguously, with the 'generic' singular/plural patient, or simply by leaving the patient unexpressed) it is more a matter of the pragmatics of each instance. As such the use of this case marker performs a similar role to singular/plural opposition and the definite article in English, although the opposition is more nuanced.

[76] Note that it appears that the speaker having eaten all of the eggs and other food is more likely to be an implicature than an entailment, as in English, for example *I ate the eggs and the other stuff, but I didn't eat all of them.*

Ergative A least likely	- Countable noun patients with the plural or collective suffix
	- Generic patients whose interpretation can be singular or plural - Uncountable noun patients whose quantity is not delineated - Clauses where the patient is left unexpressed
Ergative A most likely	- Patients whose number is overtly expressed with a numeral - Patients whose quantity is delineated with the demonstrative *²ucu*, which refers to a quantity which has been established earlier on

Table 6.1: Ergative marking of NPs

The factors influencing the use of the patientive case appear to be somewhat less complex than the use of the ergative, however the use of this case is also not transparently explicable by one factor alone. The patientive can only be used on human patients.[77] Animacy is therefore an important conditioning factor. However, I have not (yet) been able to identify a semantic factor which determines when it is used and when not on human patients. In example 6.7, the (human) P argument can be in either the patientive or the absolutive case.

6.7	*¹ŋye*	*suman=ta/=Ø*	*¹mraŋ-ci*
	I.ERG	Suman=PAT/=ABS	see-PFV
	I saw Suman.		

It appears likely that the primary factor determining the use of the case marker on those NPs where it is allowed by the nominal semantics may be pragmatic: the absolutive case indicates contrastive focus on the P argument (see section 6.3 on perspective). The semantic restriction of the marker to human patients fits with LaPolla's (1992, 2004) analysis of similar patterns across Tibeto-Burman languages as 'anti-ergative', ie. explicit marking of an NP as not being the agent in the clause (see section 6.2.1). However the fact that it is not used in clauses which explicitly focus the (human)

[77] It follows that the patientive can only be used with verbs which allow human patients and not with those which only allow inamimate patients such as *²thuŋ* 'drink'. However, the use of the case marker itself is determined by the semantics of the argument rather than by the predicate.

patient might be considered to complicate this analysis: it is in clauses with the most focal human patients where the patientive case appears not to be used (cf. Nikolaeva 1999).

I therefore propose that case-marking of direct arguments in Tamang is determined by a mixture of factors related to semantics of the predicate (specifically, how many properties of proto-agent and proto-patient it affords its arguments), the semantics of the arguments (their level of animacy and individuation), and the semantics of the utterance (specifically with regard to tense and aspect). It appears that predicates make few rigid case assignments for direct arguments in transitive clauses, but this is a matter of degree. Some predicates specify what seems to be essentially compulsory case assignment although most specify a two options (ergative/absolutive for A arguments and absolutive/patientive for P arguments), within which the actual choice is made depending on the semantic variables of each instance, as well as pragmatic factors (see section 6.3). These can be considered instances of subcategorization rather than government (see section 2.4).

6.1.3 Direct arguments: syntactic aspects of case-marking

Although (as discussed in section 6.1.2), the use of the ergative and patientive case markers on direct arguments is influenced by a variety of non-syntactic factors, some clausal relations appear to be syntacticized. These include firstly the case-marking of all T arguments and the large class of S arguments which is invariably absolutive: this case assignment can be considered governed by the predicate. We can also propose syntactic explanations for certain patterns in transitive clauses, both with regard to the transitive frame through which the proposition is expressed, and to the use of overt case-marking, specifically the ergative case.

That we can refer to ‘transitive’ predicates and clauses in Tamang reflects the fact that there exists some degree of abstraction of the role of direct arguments into generalized syntactic categories (see Dixon 1994: 22-28) which subsume a number of different semantic relationships between arguments (which follow from the semantics of the predicate). For instance, A arguments can be volitional or

non-volitional agents. The semantics of certain verbs may specify one or the other, but many could have either a volitional or non-volitional agent. A arguments can also be experiencers (for instance the A arguments of verbs such as *¹mraŋ* 'see', *¹the:* 'hear', *³se:* 'know', *²mret* 'forget' etc.). P arguments on the other hand can be a patient (for instance the P arguments of verbs such as *²tha:* 'cut', *²thuŋ* 'drink' etc.), or may be a stimulus (eg. the P arguments of *¹mraŋ* 'see', *²mret* 'forget'). It appears that all propositions which involve agents and patients are expressed with transitive verbs. For less prototypically transitive propositions (see Hopper and Thompson 1980), which involve participants which have fewer properties of a proto-agent and proto-patient (see section 2.1.3), some are expressed through a transitive frame while others are expressed in using complements or inverse constructions (see sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3). Case-marking of complements also involves some generalization of roles (see section 6.1.4), however case-marking of complements (as well as oblique arguments) appears to be more semantically explicit than that of direct arguments.

Apart from the generalization of roles associated with transitive predicates into abstract syntactic relationships, some aspects of case-marking in transitive clauses also appear to be determined by syntax rather than by semantic factors. This tendency appears most strongly developed with the ergative case, as the use of the patientive case (as discussed in section 6.1.2) appears relatable only to semantic and pragmatic factors.[78] Certain transitive verbs, for instance *³se:* 'know' govern ergative case on their A argument (see example 6.8). The A argument of this verb is an experiencer rather than an agent (ruling out an analysis of the ergative case as marking agency in this instance), and given the obviously inanimate status of the second argument, there is not much likelihood of confusing the roles of the two arguments. However, an absolutive first argument is rejected as ungrammatical by language consultants. This appears to indicate that use of ergative case on the A argument of *³se:* 'know' is purely due to government by the verb.

[78] Although it is possible to argue that if the core meaning of the patientive case is 'affected' (as discussed in section 5.5.2), its use on P arguments which are stimuli rather than patients (eg. *¹ŋye saroj=ta ¹mraŋ-ci* (I.ERG Saroj=PAT see-PFV) 'I saw Saroj'), and as such not affected by the state of affairs of the predicate constitutes some kind of generalization of the meaning.

6.8 *[1]ŋye/*[1]ŋa=Ø [2]ucu [1]tam=Ø [3]se:-pa [1]mula*

I.ERG/I=ABS that thing=ABS know-NOMZ COPA.NPST

I know that.

Although there is only a small number of verbs which govern ergative on the A argument at all times, there are many transitive verbs (*[1]mraŋ* 'see' is an example) where this marking does appear compulsory in the perfective. This seems to indicate that there is a partial syntacticization of the ergative case, although it is uneven across the lexicon and is still influenced by propositional semantics. From a diachronic perspective, the relatively minor syntacticization of case-marking in Tamang, which is uneven across the lexicon, appears to suggest that in this language at least, non-syntactic patterns are in the process of becoming syntacticized. This would fit with LaPolla's (2004) view that syntactic clausal relations in Tibeto-Burman have developed from non-syntactic relations.

The absolutive case - with no overt case-marking - also presents a problem. The fact that some direct arguments are always zero-marked while some have variable marking between zero and an overt case raises the question: if we propose that the use of those cases (ergative and patientive) which vary with zero/absolutive is influenced by syntactic and non-syntactic factors, are those instances where zero-marking on core arguments is invariable and therefore ostensibly compulsory (ie. on some S arguments and on T arguments) actually governed by the predicate, or is zero merely used because there is no salient syntactic, semantic, pragmatic reason which can ever cause these elements to be marked with one of the overt markers (ergative/patientive)? If the instances of invariable zero marking (ie. T, some S) are indeed governed by the predicate (as I have proposed earlier), then zero can be understood to have a meaning of its own. However, if all the instances of invariable zero marking are merely due to the lack of an overt semantic/pragmatic factor to justify overt marking, then zero simply appears a default category which is used when no particular meaning is expressed. This issue cannot be fully resolved at this stage.

6.1.4 Oblique participants

The case-marking of oblique participants (ie. oblique arguments and complements) is more syntacticized than that of direct arguments, as it is invariable and can be considered governed by the predicate. However, marking of oblique participants often provides quite specific information about their thematic role, which is generally more specific than the semantically abstract relations between many direct arguments (see section 6.1.2).

An aspect of oblique marking which is strongly related to semantics is the division of labour between dative *=ta* and locative *=i* (also to some extent, ablative *=se*). While dative and locative are both used to mark goals (see sections 4.5.2 and 4.6 respectively), there is a strict separation between animate goals (recipients, beneficiaries etc.) and inanimate goals (locations). This can be seen firstly in their use on complements of intransitive verbs and inverse predicates: animate complements are always marked with *=ta* whereas inanimate complements are marked with *=i*. It is worth noting that the uses of both dative and locative in two-participant clauses is semantically abstract: dative can mark roles such as stimulus (see section 5.3.2) but can also mark experiencers in inverse constructions (see section 5.3.3), while the locative case can mark a location, or a goal or endpoint of a movement. The generalization of both case markers across a number of roles can be considered evidence of their syntacticization, while their separation between animate and inaminate NPs reflects a semantic distinction.

The distinction between animate and inanimate participants is also evident in the case-marking in three-participant clauses. The dative case is invariably used for the G argument in ditransitive clauses (see section 5.4.1), as well as for beneficiaries in benefactive clauses (see section 5.4.2), both of which are invariably human. The dative is also used in three-participant clauses involving an animate source, as can be shown in the following example:

6.9 *[1]ŋye* *[2]ut = ta* *[1]ʈaŋka = Ø* *[1]la-ci*

I.ERG that = DAT money = ABS do-PFV

I took money from him/her.

For an inanimate source, the ablative is used:

6.10 *[1]ŋye* *[4]tara = se* *[2]ki = Ø* *[3]pa-ci*

I.ERG waterspout = ABL water = ABS bring-PFV

I brought water from the waterspout.

And as mentioned in section 4.6, for inanimate goals the locative is used (see also section 5.4.3):

6.11 *[1]ŋye* *[1]me = i* *[1]siŋ = Ø* *[2]than-ci*

I.ERG fire = LOC wood = ABS put-PFV

I put wood on the fire.

These examples indicate that the dative is used for a human oblique argument whether it is a goal or a source, while inanimate oblique arguments are marked with the locative if they are a goal and ablative if they are source.[79] The salience of animacy in determining case-marking in Tamang is quite different from the well-documented case system of Tamang's (reasonably) close relative, Tibetan. In Central Tibetan, the case marker *-la* is used for dative functions (ie. human goals) and allative and locative functions (ie. non-human goals and locations) (see DeLancey 2003: 274-5; Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 108-9).[80] However it is interesting to note that in Old Tibetan made a clearer distinction between animate and inanimate goals: Hill states that in Old Tibetan the case

[79] Note, however, that the ablative case can be used with human adjuncts, as in example 4.18.

[80] The Tibetan ablative case marker *-nas* can used for both animate and inanimate sources (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 154), however Tamang is less divergent in this regard, as the ergative/ablative form *= se* can be used on both animate and inanimate NPs.

marker *-la* 'is primarily used with sentient creatures and is never used with physical locations' (2011: 35); the marker *-na* 'is never used with sentient creatures but always with places: however, it never occurs with verbs of motion' (2011: 35-6); and the marker *-r/-ru/-su/-tu/-du* (allomorphs) is used above all 'to mark locations of action and destinations of motion' (2011: 36). These descriptions indicate that Old Tibetan used discrete case markers for animate and inanimate goals.[81]

6.1.5 Variable and non-variable case-marking

Adjuncts, by definition, are not governed by the predicate. Their case-marking is independent and gives transparent information regarding their role in the clause. Case-marking on adjuncts can therefore be considered instances of semantic or concrete case-marking (see section 6.1.6), and is invariable (or rather, if the case changes, the role of the NP in the clause will also change). Case-marking of participants in Tamang is more complicated: it involves a mixture of invariable patterns on oblique participants and some direct arguments, and variable patterns on a large number of direct arguments. While the former are clear instances of government (by the predicate), the latter are less obviously so. However, as discussed in chapter 5, only a limited range of case options are available for direct arguments: these can therefore be considered examples of subcategorization, and hence, a form of government. These patterns are summarized for one-participant, two-participant and three-participant clauses in table 6.2:

[81] The formal and functional similarity of the Old Tibetan case markers *-la* and *-r/-ru/-su/-tu/-du* to the Tamang dative/patientive and locative cases *=ta* and *=i* (*=ri* in most dialects) respectively also makes it tempting to propose that these two cases markers are cognate between Tamang and Old Tibetan, however the available evidence is not sufficient to demonstrate this with certainty.

Number of participants	**Type of clause**[82]	**Attested marking patterns (more agent-like element first)**	**Semantic and contextual information**
one	intransitive	**S = ABS;** S = ABS/ERG; S = ABS/PAT	dependent on class of predicate: some invariable ABS; others variable
two	transitive	A = ABS/ERG; P = ABS/PAT	ERG most likely to be used in past/perfective; PAT most likely to be used with affected human NP
two	intransitive with complement	**S = ABS;** **[OBL = DAT]**	verbs involving emotions
two	intransitive with complement	S = ABS/ERG; **[OBL = LOC]**	verbs of location/motion; ERG more likely to be used in past/perfective contexts
two	inverse	**[OBL = DAT];** **S = ABS**	more patient-oriented verbs
three	ditransitive: human goal	A = ABS/ERG; **T = ABS; [G = DAT]**	ERG most likely used in past/perfective contexts
three	ditransitive: non-human goal	A = ABS/ERG; **T = ABS; [G = LOC]**	ERG most likely used in past/perfective contexts
three	transitive clause with instrument	A = ABS/ERG; P = ABS/PAT; **[INST = ABL]**	ERG most likely to be used in past/perfective; PAT most likely to be used with affected human NP
[Note: normal font = variable case-marking; **bold font** = invariable marking; [square brackets] = oblique]			

Table 6.2: Participant frames of main clauses

Variable patterns only occur on A and P arguments, and on some classes of S arguments (see section 5.2.1). These patterns always involve a choice of either absolutive (ie. zero) and one of the overt cases used on direct arguments (ergative and patientive).[83] All oblique participants have non-variable case-marking, as do T arguments and S arguments of a large class of intransitive predicates. The only invariable marking of S arguments and T is absolutive, while case-marking of oblique elements is always overt. The marking of oblique elements is governed by the predicate, although in many instances it also gives relatively explicit information about the thematic role of the relevant

[82] In this schema, reciprocal clauses can be subsumed with intransitives, reflexives can be subsumed with transitives, and benefactives can be subsumed with ditransitives.

[83] The fact that some patterns of case-marking are variable and some invariable is an important reason for my analysis of ergative and ablative as separate cases, despite the fact that they fact that they have a homophonous morpheme *=se*, and and patientive and dative as separate despite the fact that they have a homophonous morpheme *=ta*.

participant (the possible exception to this is the dative case, which has a wider range of uses and can thus be considered more abstract). This can be summarized as follows:

Variable	Invariable
A: ABS/ERG	some S: ABS
P: ABS/PAT	T: ABS
some S: ABS/ERG	G: DAT
some S: ABS/PAT	Other obliques: DAT, LOC, ABL

Table 6.3: Variable and invariable marking of participants

While the predicate does not determine the case of arguments which have variable marking, it does determine the boundaries within which an argument can be marked. Therefore, A arguments and a class of (generally agentive) S arguments can only be absolutive or ergative, P arguments and a class of (patientive) S arguments can only be absolutive or patientive (see sections 5.2.1 and 5.3.1).[84] The patterns of government (including subcategorization) of participants can be summarized as follows:

Direct arguments			Oblique participants	
ABS/ERG	ABS	ABS/PAT	DAT	LOC
A	T	P	G	some COMP
some S	some S	some S	some COMP[85]	

Table 6.4: Case-marking options for participants

The range of options for case-marking are determined by the participant frame of the verb. While some arguments are assigned a specific case, some have a choice between two cases. All direct arguments can (and some must) have absolutive (ie. zero) marking. S arguments are split into three

[84] As discussed in section 5.3.1, transitive clauses such as *¹ŋa=ta ⁴yam=se ¹syap-ci* (I=PAT illness=ERG seize-PFV) 'I got an illness') with an inanimate A argument are pragmatically marked, however their in terms of case-marking they behave as normal transitive clauses.

[85] Some complements (those of motion verbs) are also assigned the locative case.

classes (according to three classes of one-place predicates) which have different marking patterns (see sections 5.2.1 and 6.2.4).[86]

6.1.6 Direct and oblique cases

Some linguists have proposed a distinction between cases which encode syntactic relations between direct arguments, and those which provide more explicit semantic information on oblique arguments and adjuncts. This distinction is based on the fact that syntactic case-marking between direct arguments can cover a number of semantic relationships between arguments (eg. agent and patient, experiencer and stimulus, force and theme etc.), while case-marking on oblique elements provides transparent information as to the thematic role of the relevant NP (see Blake 2004: 31-3). A number of terms have been used by different linguists for each, including respectively 'grammatical' vs 'semantic' cases, 'core' vs 'peripheral' cases, 'abstract' vs 'concrete' cases (see Haspelmath 2009: 507), and 'direct' vs 'oblique' cases (see Nichols 1983: 170). Languages such as Meithei (see Chelliah 1997), which do not have syntacticized clausal relations, do not possess the former category of abstract/grammatical cases, only the latter concrete/semantic category.

Nichols (1983) points out that the division between direct and oblique cases is only significant if they are complementary, ie. that if a case is used for core syntactic functions in a language (subject/object, agent/patient etc.), it is not also used for oblique functions or adjuncts. She notes (1983: 181) that Latin and Russian, both of which are often discussed as examples of languages with rich case systems, do not provide evidence for discrete categories of direct and oblique cases, because the same set of cases are used for direct and oblique functions, therefore the categories overlap. The case systems Chechen-Ingush and Nanai on the other hand, which have complementary sets of cases which are used for direct and oblique functions (Nichols 1983: 181), would provide evidence to distinguish direct from oblique cases in these languages.

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[86] It appears that there may be one intransitive predicate, *ⁱman* 'want, think', whose argument can (under appropriate circumstances) appear in any of the three direct cases. This is an exception as it does not belong to any of the main classes of intransitive predicates, which govern ABS, ABS/ERG or ABS/PAT case-marking.

Following Nichols (1983), I consider Tamang case markers with regard to whether they mark governed or non-governed functions. I consider instances where one case is assigned by the verb to be governed, and cases where a limited choice of cases are allowed to mark a verb to be semi-governed/subcategorized. Marking which is not affected by the predicate (ie. of adjuncts) is not governed. I consider firstly case forms, which include two sets of homophones: ergative/ablative *=se* and patientive/dative *=ta*, and then case morphemes, which divide the forms *=se* and *=ta* each into two morphemes, one variable (ergative, patientive) and one non-variable (ablative, dative).[87]

	Governed (non-variable)	Semi-governed (variable)	Non-governed (non-variable)	Marking abstract (ie. syntactic relations	Significant overlap of governed/non-governed uses	Significant overlap of variable/non-variable governed uses
=Ø	x	x		x		x
=se	(x)	x	x	x	x	x
=ta	x	x	x	x	x	x
=i	(x)		x			

Table 6.5: Government and variability of case forms

=Ø is only used for governed functions (arguments), while *=i* is generally only used for adjuncts (though it has a marginally governed use to mark complements (goals) of verbs of motion). *=se* and *=ta* both display an overlap of governed and non-governed functions: in other words, they are used for both arguments and adjuncts. This overlap is eliminated to some extent if we consider all the case morphemes (including homophonous morphemes) separately. However, there remains some overlap for the dative case, which can mark both arguments and adjuncts.

[87] I do not consider comitative *=then* and genitive *=ki* which are only used within the noun phrase (see sections 4.7 and 4.8).

	Governed (non-variable)	Semi-governed (variable)	Non-governed (non-variable)	Marking abstract (ie. syntactic relations)	Significant overlap of governed/non-governed uses	Significant overlap of variable/non-variable governed uses
ABS	x	x		x		x
ERG	(x)	x		x		x
ABL			x			
PAT	(x)	x		x		x
DAT	x		x		x	
LOC	(x)		x			

Table 6.6: Government and variability of case morphemes

Therefore, if we separate ergative from ablative and patientive from dative, we get a reasonable degree of complementarity of the cases. Absolutive, ergative and patientive are clearly direct cases, whereas ablative and locative are clearly oblique. Only dative overlaps both categories, as appears to occur in many languages (see Margetts and Austin 2007: 400). However, it is worth remembering that splitting the forms *=se* and *=ta* into oblique and direct case functions is only an analytical device, and to consider the holistic meanings of these forms we need to consider all of the various elements across which their usage aligns.

6.2 Alignment in the main clause

As alignment relates to different types of relations which pattern in the same way, it is most appropriate to discuss it in terms of case forms rather than case morphemes. Therefore, although the division of case forms *=se* and *=ta* each into two homophonous cases was beneficial for discussing the differences between case-marking of direct arguments and obliques, the present discussion will focus on case forms rather than case morphemes.

6.2.1 Overview of alignment patterns

In this section, I will consider the different types of arguments based on generalized thematic roles S, A, P, T and G (see section 2.1.4). I will begin by discussing the arguments which occur in

transitive clauses (A and P), as discussions of alignment regarding intransitive and ditransitive clauses generally relate to the way arguments in these clauses pattern with those of a transitive clause. Due to the variable marking of very many direct arguments, it is difficult to discuss alignment in terms of regular patterns determined by valency and generalized syntactic categories. Tamang does not have a regular pattern like S = P ≠ A (ie. regularly ergative) or S = A ≠ P (regularly accusative), and the patterns of variation are too strongly influenced by semantic and pragmatic factors of an individual utterance to attempt to construct a framework of regular alignment patterns according to the conditioning factors.

We can point out that certain types of participants tend to be marked in the same way. If we consider the groups of participants which the clause-level case forms generally mark, we see the following pattern:

Marking	Can be marked with relevant marker: arguments (non-variable)	Can be marked with relevant marker: arguments (variable)	Can be marked with relevant marker: oblique elements
=Ø	S: class 1 all T	most P some A	
=se		more agentive A, few S	source, instrument (ablative)
=ta	all G	affected human (more patientive) P	goal (animate), beneficiary, stimulus
=i			goal (inanimate), location

Table 6.7: Alignment of participants

Although A arguments cannot be marked with *=ta* and P arguments cannot be marked with *=se*, both can have no overt case-marking (*=Ø*). As mentioned in section 6.1.3, the use of *=se* on A arguments is more strongly syntacticized than the use of *=ta* on P arguments. We can also argue that *=Ø* is associated more strongly with P than with A. This is based on the fact that *=ta* is only ever used on a restricted class of P arguments (ie. human and to some extent other animate P arguments) while all non-animate P arguments must be marked *=Ø*. On the other hand, there is no

semantic restriction whatsoever of the use of *=se* on an A argument, and it can be used with animates as well as inanimates, pronouns as well as nouns etc. Furthermore, certain verbs govern *=se* on their A argument either under conditions or generally (see section 6.1.3), whereas no verb appears to govern any marking other than *=Ø* on P, and the use of *=ta* on P arguments is fully semantic and pragmatic. By this reasoning, the zero morpheme *=Ø* is more strongly associated with P arguments than it is with A arguments. It is important to stress that this is only a tendency rather than a neat patterning, as A arguments can also of course have zero marking. If we plot these tendencies in opposition to each other and consider which other other participants are marked in a similar way, we can draw a rough scheme of alignment with A and P as follows:

Argument of transitive clause	Marking	Other participants with same marking
A	*=se* (/*=Ø*)	few S, adjuncts (source)
P	*=Ø*	most S, T

Table 6.8: Generalized alignment of A and P

The fact that zero marking *=Ø* which is associated with more strongly with P than A is also used for the great majority of S arguments, while *=se* (which differentiates A from P) is only used with a a relatively small class of S arguments, and then only some of the time, indicates that in terms of alignment Tamang has stronger ergative tendencies than anything else. The possibility for S to pattern either with A or with P reflects a split intransitive system. If we add the other case form which can generally be used on arguments (*=ta*) to the discussion, we see that its strongest association is with G arguments, although it is frequently also used on a certain class of P arguments, as mentioned above.

Case form	Participant most associated with form	Other participants with same marking
=se	A	some S, adjuncts (source)
=Ø	P	most S, T
=ta	G	some P, complements, adjuncts (goal)

Table 6.9: Generalized alignment of all participants

We can also note that both A and G align with certain types of adjuncts, which reflects the earlier observation that markers *=se* and *=ta* are used for both governed and non-governed functions. It might be most appropriate to think of alignment in Tamang as a set of semantics-related tendencies: for example, more agentive arguments across different clause valencies tend to align together (with ergative marking), more affected human arguments tend to align together (with patientive marking), and arguments for which neither of these properties are salient align together with absolutive marking. I will discuss this proposal in detail in section 6.5. The (imperfect) patterns of alignment evident here raise questions which are often discussed under headings such as ergativity, split intransitivity, differential object marking etc. I will consider how the alignment of participants in Tamang fits into these discussions over the following sections.

6.2.2 A arguments

The ergative, marked by *=se*, is the most syntacticized case in transitive clauses. The fact that the case-marking of A arguments in various Tibeto-Burman languages is variable and non-systemic has led some linguists (eg. LaPolla 1995, 2004) to refer to explicit marking which tends to occur on agents in various of the languages as 'agentive', indicating that the marking is semantic-based and serves to disambiguate arguments, rather than a syntacticized system in which A arguments are consistently marked differently from P by virtue of them being the more agent-like of the two arguments on a generalized basis. However, as Haspelmath (2009: 511) points out, few ergative systems fit the idealized consistency of marking, and most involve splits of some kind (see eg. Klaiman 1985 for an overview of the wide diversity of patterns which can be called 'ergative' in

South Asian languages).[88] Therefore, although the use of the ergative in Tamang is influenced by both syntactic and non-syntactic factors, I have decided to call this case 'ergative' in order to situate the discussion in this discourse. A similar approach has been taken by linguists working on other Tibeto-Burman languages where a case marker used on primarily A arguments has a mixture of syntactic and non-syntactic functions (eg. Tournadre 1991, 1994; Driem 1998; Andvik 2010; Hyslop 2010). McGregor (2010) advocates that the type of variable ergative marking which is seen in Tamang (ie. marking which does not affect the grammatical role of the NP) should be referred to as 'optional ergative marking'.

The definition of the marking of A as ergative is of course related to the marking of S arguments in intransitive clauses, which is complicated in Tamang by the fact that S arguments also have variable marking, and therefore do not pattern uniformly with A or P. As mentioned in section 6.2.1 it is possible to identify the overt marking of A arguments with *=se* (even though this too is not consistent) as ergative on the basis that while both A and P can be zero-marked, *=se* can only be used on A arguments and never on P arguments: it is therefore the marked form.

In terms of their alignment, A arguments marked with *=se* pattern with some S arguments (see section 6.2.4). They also pattern with the range of adjuncts which are marked with the homophonous ablative case *=se*, most of which are a source or instrument. The patterning of ergative A arguments with ablative sources and instruments (whose marking is invariable) suggests that ergative marking in Tamang developed ultimately from the ablative case. Tournadre (1991) proposes that ergative marking in Tibetan also developed from ablative marking, and notes that this type differs from ergative patterns which have derived from possessive constructions (eg. Greenlandic, where the ergative case is homophonous with genitive, see Dixon 1994: 57) and those from passive

[88] Furthermore, it appears that no language has yet been found which exhibits both consistently morphological ergative patterns (ie. within the clause) and syntactic ergative patterns across clauses (see Dixon 1994: 14; McGregor 2009).

constructions (eg. Indo-Iranian, where the ergative case marker developed from an instrumental, see Dixon 1994: 187-92).

LaPolla (1995: 191) and Noonan (2008b) note that formal syncretism of ergative, instrumental and ablative functions is a common pattern in Tibeto-Burman. LaPolla (1995: 191-5) also states that from data across Bodish languages (a grouping which includes the Tibetic languages and the Tamangic languages) it is possible to reconstruct an 'agentive' (or alternatively, ergative) marker **s(V)* (where *V* indicates any vowel) to proto-Bodish. Following DeLancey (1985: 57), LaPolla proposes (1995: 194) that this morpheme may have indicated 'an abstract Source'. With regard to Classical Tibetan, LaPolla (1995: 192) notes that the ergative case *-kyis* (which has an allomorph *-s* after words ending in a vowel), ablative *-las* and elative *-nas* can be decomposed to transparent compounds of genitive, dative and locative (*-kyi*, *-la*, *-na* respectively) plus a reflex of **s(V)*, the proposed morpheme indicating 'source'.

Bickel and Nichols (2009: 307) remark that in terms of the generalized semantic-syntactic roles S, A, P etc., the generalization of semantic properties upon which the roles are based differs between the A argument of a transitive clause and the A argument of a ditransitive clause. They note that although in both types of clause A is the more agent-like argument, an A argument of a transitive clause represents a wider category than that of a ditransitive clause, as while the former can include arguments which have relatively fewer properties of proto-agents such as experiencers, recipients, locations etc. (examples in Tamang include A arguments of verbs such as *ˈmraŋ* 'see', *ˈthe:* 'hear'), the latter always have a lot of agentive properties, and are therefore closer to true agents. They also point out, however (Bickel and Nichols 2009: 306) that it is uncommon for languages to treat A arguments differently in transitive and ditransitive clauses. Tamang does not treat them in a remarkably different manner: both can have either absolutive or ergative case-marking, the use of which appears to be influenced essentially by similar factors in both types of clause. However, it could be argued that the ergative marking on transitive A arguments represents a more syntacticized

relation than that of ditransitive A arguments, as while the former can be used for experiencers etc., therefore representing a generalization of thematic roles to syntactic categories, the latter only occurs on agents and therefore could be considered to represent a narrower semantic category. In any case, the distinction between transitive and ditransitive A arguments in Tamang is not salient.

6.2.3 P arguments

P arguments also display variable case-marking: some patients have zero marking, and some are marked in the patientive case *=ta*. As mentioned in sections 4.5.1 and 6.1.2, this variation is affected by several factors, including the animacy of the argument (inanimate P arguments never receive overt marking) and the degree to which it is affected by the state of affairs expressed in the clause. Variable marking of P arguments is often discussed under the title of 'differential object marking' (see Bossong 1991). However this term subsumes a wide range of phenomena, and the factors which influence the marking of P arguments in Tamang, being related to semantic consequences of the proposition for the patient and possibly as a disambiguation device for atypical patients in order to avoid them being confused with the agent (see LaPolla 1992), are quite different from those which determine differential marking in languages such as Spanish or Turkish which relate to criteria such as referentiality, specificity etc. (see Bossong 1991). However, the semantic factors (in particular animacy) which determine variable marking of P arguments in Tamang appear to be an areal feature particular to the Himalayan Region, as similar patterns are found in Nepali (Acharya 1991: 160), Thangmi (Turin 2012: 268-75) and Kyirong Tibetan (Huber 2005: 87), although not in Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 2003: 275).

As mentioned in section 6.2.1, it is reasonable to propose that absolutive (ie. zero) is the basic marking for P arguments, based on fact that only a specific class of P arguments (that is, human ones) can be marked otherwise than this (with patientive *=ta*), and even this class is not consistently marked in this fashion. Furthermore, human patients constitute an atypical class of patients, ie. a class which is most likely to receive atypical marking.

6.2.4 S arguments

As mentioned in section 5.2.1, the variable marking of S arguments in Tamang can be considered a form of split intransitivity (see Dixon 1994: 70). Several discussions of split intransitivity (eg. Merlan 1986: 254; Dixon 1994: 76) have noted that the phenomenon is more common in languages where clausal relations are indicated by cross-referencing on the verb (ie. by head marking, see Nichols 1986) rather than by case markers on NPs (a dependent marking pattern). Several languages of the Caucasus (Laz, Georgian and Batsbi) as well as a few others (eg. Eastern Pomo) which exhibit split intransitivity through case-marking are cited as counterexamples, but Tibeto-Burman languages have not frequently been mentioned in the literature on this topic.[89] However it appears that the phenomenon is quite widespread in Tibeto-Burman languages, although as it has been discussed with different terminology the parallels with other split intransitive languages have not been brought to the fore.

Starting with LaPolla (1995), a number of scholars (see eg. Chelliah 1997; LaPolla 2004; Hyslop 2010) have discussed patterns of non-syntactic case-marking in Tibeto-Burman, and the phenomenon whereby a case morpheme which often marks A arguments with a high degree of agentivity can also be used on S arguments has been noted in a number of Tibeto-Burman languages (see Chelliah and Hyslop 2011). The way that agentive or ergative markers are used varies from language to language, however DeLancey (2011c) notes that their use is quite consistently associatied with agentivity, contrastiveness and perfective aspect across Tibeto-Burman, and that, as well as for A arguments in transitive clauses, they are frequently used on the S argument of intransitive clauses. Hyslop (2010), looking at Kurtöp, stresses the importance of verbal semantics, noting that while the ergative marker can be used to mark the S arguments of many intransitive verbs, there is also a class of verbs which disallow this marking of their arguments. These patterns fit better with the type that Dixon (1994: 78-9) calls ‘fluid-S’, where variable case-marking can be

[89] Although Dixon (1994: 80) makes a brief reference to ‘Spoken Tibetan’ as a fluid-S language.

assigned according to specifics of a given instance of a verb, rather than 'split-S' marking, where different classes of intransitive predicates regularly assign one or the other type of marking to their arguments, and therefore case assignment is governed by the verb.

In Tamang, as discussed in sections 5.2.1 and 6.2.1 the invariable *=Ø* class of S arguments can be considered to align most closely with P arguments in a transitive clause (which are also most typically absolutive, with patientive *=ta* marking restricted to a specific class), while the *=Ø/=se* class of S arguments aligns most closely with transitive A arguments, which are the only type of transitive argument which can be marked with *=se* (P arguments cannot). Therefore in the fluid-S marking system, *=Ø* is the unmarked case for all S arguments, while *=se* is only used on a specific class of S arguments some of the time.

A distinctive aspect of Tamang's split intransitive system is the fact that it involves three categories of S argument rather than two, which is the most commonly discussed pattern (see Merlan 1985; Mithun 1991). As discussed in sections 5.2.1 and 6.2.1, a class of S arguments can also receive variable patientive marking (by virtue of which they align with some human P arguments, G arguments, certain complements etc.). I have not yet seen a discussion of a three-way split intransitive system in any language, so it appears that such systems are quite rare.

Nichols (2008) observes that most languages which have been discussed as classic examples of split intransitive systems also display primary object patterns (by which the G argument in a ditransitive clause patterns in a similar manner to the P argument of a transitive clause, see section 6.2.5). She further notes that in languages which have direct object patterns (where a ditransitive T argument patterns similarly to a transitive P argument, see section 6.2.3), dative experiencer patterns are fairly common, and can be considered a counterpart to the classic split intransitive type, due to the fact that 'the preferred non-A subject coding is the one identical to the treatment of recipient or goal arguments of ditransitives' (Nichols 2008: 133), which is manifested in classic stative-active

languages by the alignment of some S with the primary object, and in many languages in Eurasia (which have direct object patterns) by the existence of 'dative subject' constructions which treat S arguments in the same manner as an indirect object.

With its three-way system of fluid-S marking, Tamang appears to have both patterns: if (as mentioned above) with regard to transitive clauses the *=Ø/=se* category of S arguments can be identified with A arguments and the *=Ø* category can be identified with P arguments, with regard to ditransitive clause the *=Ø* category can be identified with T arguments and the *=Ø/=ta* category with G arguments. This is of course just an approximation - G arguments are consistently marked with *=ta* while the use of *=ta* on S arguments is fluid. Furthermore, the same marking can also be used on human P arguments. It therefore appears that no currently available model can characterize this system, which is undoubtedly fluid, but involves categories which overlap only partially with the categories in transitive and ditransitive clauses which are typically used as benchmarks.

6.2.5 T and G arguments

Of all simple clauses, ditransitive clauses appear to have the most regular patterns of case-marking. Although the marking of an A argument in a transitive clause can be either absolutive or ergative (influenced by essentially the same factors as A arguments in transitive clauses), T arguments are always absolutive and G arguments are always dative. Despite the fact that animate P arguments in transitive clauses are very often marked with the patientive case (which as mentioned at many points, is homophonous with the dative), in a ditransitive clause the animacy of the T argument has no effect on its case-marking.

By the fact that the G argument is always obliquely marked, while the T argument always stands without overt marking, the non-A arguments of Tamang ditransitive clauses appear quite similar to the traditional concepts of direct and indirect object (certainly more similar than Tamang P arguments are to the traditional concept of transitive object). However, such a designation is

problematic for Tamang as any 'object' categories in a ditranstive clause need to be considered with regard to their relationship with 'objects' in a transitive clause. Following the lead of Dryer (1986), linguists considering the relationship between transitive and ditransitive alignment patterns have proposed two major systems of ditransitive alignment: those in which the T of a ditransitive clause patterns in a similar way to the P argument of a transitive clause (with the G argument expressed in some other way), and those where the G argument of a ditransitive clause patterns in a similar way to a transitive P argument (with the T argument expressed in another way). Dryer (1986) calls the former the 'direct object' pattern and the latter the 'primary object' pattern, while Haspelmath (2008) refers them respectively as 'indirective' and 'secundative' alignment patterns.

The issue of whether Tamang displays 'indirective' or 'secundative' alignment is complicated by the variable marking of P arguments in transitive clauses (see 6.2.3). It might be possible to say that Tamang sometimes has indirective alignment and sometimes has secundative alignment (see Sharma 2013: 155-6 for a discussion of this issue in Puma), however it seems counterintuitive to base the typological profile of Tamang ditransitive clauses on the benchmark of transitive clauses, given that the former have consistent marking for non-A arguments while the latter do not. I believe a better approach, which is similar to that by which I have reached generalizations about marking patterns in transitive and intransitive clauses, is to base the analysis on the unmarked, which can be considered the most basic, pattern for P arguments in transitive clauses. If we therefore assume that the basic marking of P arguments is absolutive (see section 6.2.1), then it is clearly the T argument rather than the G argument of a ditransitive clause which patterns in the same way. Tamang can therefore be said to exhibit indirective alignment, according to Haspelmath's (2008) terminology. It does display an inconsistency with regard to how it conforms to this pattern, however the inconsistency does not arise from variable patterns in ditransitive clauses as in English (see Dryer 1986), but rather from variable patterns in transitive clauses. Furthermore, while patterns of marking non-A arguments in transitive clauses are strongly affected by nominal semantics, marking of non-A arguments in ditransitive clauses are fully syntacticized, as a T argument is consistently marked absolutive, even

in the marked situation where it is animate or human. Zeisler (2006: 81) notes that the same is true for Dolakha Newar, as while a patient may be marked either zero or dative according to Genetti's (1997) analysis, the recipient can never be absolutive.

6.3 Perspective

Several authors have remarked that languages with non-syntactic case-marking patterns tend to lack valency-altering derivations such as passive and antipassive, which depend on an ability to exploit the separation between syntactic relations and semantic roles in order to foreground a patient as subject/topic (see Foley and Van Valin 1984: 155–9; Dixon 1994: 31; Wichmann 2008: 4). Consequently, given Tamang's profile of (primarily non-syntactic) clausal relations, it is not particularly surprising that the language does not possess such derivations.

However, Tamang uses other means to achieve discourse effects which are similar to those for which a passive would typically be used in languages which possess the passive derivation. These strategies appear to be examples of what Foley (2007: 423-7) calls 'backgrounding passives', that is those operations which remove the prominence of the more agentive (A) argument without promoting the less agentive (P) argument to higher prominence in the clause. LaPolla (2003: 139-41) refers to strategies which achieve a similar effect in the Tibeto-Burman language Qiang as 'perspective'. I consider perspective alternations in Tamang as part of a larger system of clausal relations which I refer to as the 'trajectory model' (see section 6.5).

Patients can be foregrounded in Tamang by exploiting operations associated with information structure - specifically word order and argument omission - as well as by case-marking. As mentioned in section 3.5.1, the first position in the clause is topical while the pre-verbal position is focal. Topic and focus status tend to correlate with agents and patients respectively, which is reflected by the fact that in Tamang, the A argument usually precedes the P argument in clauses where both are overtly expressed. It is possible to reverse this pragmatic status simply by reversing

the order of the A and P arguments. For instance, example 6.12 has the normal correlation of topic with agent, however it is unusual in that a human referent - even if it is a patient - is more likely to be topical than an animal one. Example 6.12 might be used if the dog has been recently mentioned in the preceding discourse. If that is not the case, it is likely that example 6.13 might be used. In this example, pragmatic prominence is given to the (human) patient by placing her in the clause-initial topic position.

6.12 *[1]niki = se* *[2]mam = ta* *[1]hap-cim*
dog = ERG granny = PAT bite-EXPER
The dog bit granny!

6.13 *[2]mam = ta* *[1]niki = se* *[1]hap-cim*
granny = PAT dog = ERG bite-EXPER
Granny got bitten by the dog!

This operation differs from 'foregrounding passives' (Foley 2007: 422-3), where the prominence given to the patient entails that it takes over the vacated properties of the agent, which is achieved in languages with syntactized clausal relations by putting the patient into the case which is typically used for agents in transitive clauses and/or by agreement of the verb with the patient. In example 6.13 above, the case-marking is the same as in a typical transitive clause such as 6.12, and Tamang does not have verbal agreement. Therefore the prominence of the patient is not indicated by any morphological operation, but simply by exploiting the pragmatics of word order.

Tamang can also achieve alternations of perspective through case-marking. It appears that in instances with canonical word order (ie. topic(A)-focus(P)-verb) where a human patient is not marked with the patientive case, being unmarked emphasizes its focal status, which probably includes some degree of contrastive focus (cf. Nikolaeva 1999; Zeisler 2006: 82). For instance, the

absolutive status of *[1]ŋa* 'I' argument in example 6.14 emphasizes the status of that argument as the P argument ('he saw *me*') rather than the other way round, and might be used to correct a misconception on the part of the hearer.

6.14 *[2]ut = se* *[1]ŋa = Ø* *[1]mraŋ-ci*
that = ERG I = ABS see-PFV
He saw *me.*

This is not a passive as the A argument is not demoted, however it serves as an example of how case-marking can influence the perspective of a sentence in Tamang. Apart from being excluded from the prominence of topical position, the A argument may also be omitted entirely:

6.15 *[2]mam = ta* *[1]hap-cim*
granny = PAT bite-EXPER
Granny got bitten!

At the level of the clause, there is no difference between this and the strategies of zero anaphora which have frequently been mentioned throughout this thesis. The difference operates at the discourse level and depends on whether an agent (hence, an A argument) is recoverable from context. If a dog or something that could potentially stand as an A argument of the verb *[1]hap* 'bite' has recently been mentioned in the preceding discourse it is likely that a hearer will infer that this element is the agent of 6.15. However, if there is no such element then this clause stands as a backgrounding passive, by our definition of a clause where the agent is downplayed or removed, but in which the patient retains the morphological status associated with a patient in a normal transitive clause. It is also possible to construct agent-less clauses with more typical (ie. inanimate) P arguments, for example:

6.16 *²yuŋpu=Ø* *²ci:=se* *³pur-pa*

stone=ABS here=ABL take.away-NOMZ

Stones are taken from here.

Again, the interpretation of this sentence depends on whether a referent in preceding discourse could be a candidate for an omitted A argument. If so, the sentence will most likely be interpreted as 'X [topical participant] takes stones from here'. However if not, the sentence can interpreted as having a generic agent (something like 'people take stones from here') or something akin to a passive ('stones are taken from here'). Either way, the salient quality of the sentence is the fact that the identity of the agent is of little importance in the utterance. The patient is in fact the topic (standing in clause-initial position), and the focal information of the clause is an adjunct: the source from where the stones are taken. It appears most appropriate to analyse this sentence as an instance where an agent is suppressed due to its irrelevance for the communicative purpose. This is the opposite backgrounding pattern from patient suppression with verbs such as *¹ca* 'eat' (see section 2.3), which logically still involves a patient, even though its identity is irrelevant to the communicative purpose.

A broader question is whether this should be considered a type of ambitransitivity, which would indicate that the valency of a transitive verb *³pur* 'take away' has been reduced so that it comprises only a patient. It appears useful here to make a distinction between verbs which can display syntactic ambitransitivity, ie. instances where the valency of a verb is reduced through argument suppression, and those which can be semantically ambitransitive, ie. refer to states of affairs which could occur either independently and spontaneously, or as a result of the input of an agent. *³pur* 'take away' belongs to the former category, as stones would not be able to move themselves, and an agent is inherently present in the semantics of the proposition even if it is irrelevant to the utterance. The absence of the A argument in this case could therefore be considered either in terms of perspective or ambitransitivity. I will now consider ambitransitivity in more detail.

6.4 Ambitransitivity

As mentioned in section 6.3, it is possible to omit an agent altogether from a transitive proposition, with the effect being a backgrounding passive. This could also be considered in terms of argument suppression (see section 2.3), and as a form of ambitransitivity. However, such instances of syntactic ambitransitivity - which logically cannot occur without the input of an agent even if this is omitted - are less obviously ambitransitive than those where the same lexical verb can be used both for a transitive proposition and for a fully independent intransitive proposition (which I referred to at the end of section 6.3 as semantically ambitransitive). Verbal lexemes which can be either monovalent or bivalent are often referred to as 'labile verbs' (eg. Haspelmath 1993; Dixon 1994: 54; LaPolla et al. 2011: 479). Letuchiy (2009: 250-1) indicates that he considers only the type which I have referred to above as semantically ambitransitive as truly labile, while those whose semantics inherently involve a second argument even if used intransitively he refers to as 'quasi-labile'.

Quasi-labiles by definition would include all verbs with an S/A ambitransitive alternation (or 'agent-preserving' ambitransitives). S/A alternations do exist in Tamang, but since all belong to a class where the intransitive form is created by suppressing one argument of the transitive frame, it might therefore be more appropriate to consider these alternations in terms of perspective and backgrounding rather than as true ambitransitivity.

The category quasi-labile might also be considered to include those S/P (or 'patient-preserving') ambitransitives which refer to states of affairs which cannot logically come to pass without the involvement of an agent (examples in English include *wash* (transitive: *he is washing your clothes* vs. intransitive: *these vests wash easily*) and *sell* (transitive: *I sold your watch* vs. intransitive: *the new phones are selling fast*). True labiles by their most stringent definition would include those verbs referring to states of affairs which might involve an agent, but could also occur spontaneously without the influence of an agent, for example *break* (transitive: *I broke your mirror* vs. (potentially spontaneous) intransitive: *my radio broke*), or *burst* (transitive: *you burst his bubble* vs. (potentially

spontaneous) intransitive: *the balloon burst*). One could argue that the radio breaking and the balloon bursting both involve a cause of some kind, however this cause may not be expressible in terms of a simple noun phrase as agent.

All S/P (patient-preserving) labile verbs can be considered to exbihit lexical ergativity (see eg. Halliday 2004; McGregor 2008: 483; LaPolla et al. 2011: 478-84).[90] The difference between the two types mentioned in the previous paragraph is not salient in English as both behave as intransitive verbs. The distinction in Tamang is also subtle, though it appears to have some significance. When verbs in the former category are used without an overt agent or one recoverable from discourse context (as in example 6.16), they are best interpreted as backgrounding passives, whose agent does logically exist although it is not important in the utterance. When verbs in the latter category are used under the same circumstances, they might be interpreted either in the same way (as backgrounding passives) or as genuinely spontaneous actions. This class of verbs is therefore the most truly ambitransitive set in Tamang, as they do not necessarily involve the suppression of an agent argument. Examples include *²phup* 'collapse', *²pho:* 'explode', *¹kyut* 'snap', *¹chiŋ* 'wake up'. All appear to be patientive, and they appear to be concentrated amongst verbs which indicate an instantaneous change of state (achievement predicates according to Vendler's 1957 classification).

6.17 *¹kapur=Ø* *¹phup-ci*
terrace=ABS collapse-PFV
The terrace collapsed.

[90] Dixon (1994: 20-1) objects to the use of the term 'ergative' to refer to lexical alternations rather than morphological alignment. However, as McGregor (2008: 483) points out, there is no principled reason to exclude lexical ergativity from discussion of ergativity in general if we can discuss morphological ergativity and syntactic ergativity as discrete phenomena.

6.18 *[1]ŋyine* *[1]kapur=Ø* *phup-ci*

we.EXCL.ERG terrace=ABS collapse-PFV

We knocked down the terrace.

6.19 *[2]ʧheŋkan=Ø* *[1]kyut-cim*

stick=ABS snap-EXPER

The stick snapped!

6.20 *[1]ŋye* *[2]ʧheŋkan=Ø* *[1]kyut-ci*

I.ERG stick=ABS snap-PFV

I snapped the stick.

It could be possible to interpret examples 6.17 and 6.19 as having a suppressed agent, but the interpretation without any inferred agent is also a possibility, whereas with verbs such as *[3]pur* 'take away', *[2]tha:* 'cut' etc. it is not. A test to distinguish between these classes is that in a clause with the former, the phrase *[3]raŋ=no* 'by itself' can be added for clarity (eg. *[1]kapur=Ø [3]raŋ=no [1]phup-ci* 'the terrace fell down by itself), whereas this is not possible in the second type.

This truly labile class of verbs does not appear to be very large in Tamang. Many patientive verbs are strictly intransitive, and an agent can only be expressed by using the (direct) causative construction (see section 5.5). For example:

6.21 *[2]kyacu* *[2]halu=Ø* *[2]noŋ-ci*

that plough=ABS break-PFV

That plough is broken.

6.22 **²a = se* *²halu = Ø* *²noŋ-ci*

*you = ERG plough = ABS break-PFV

*You broke the plough.

6.23 *²a = se* *²halu = Ø* *²noŋ-na* *¹la-ci*

you = ERG plough = ABS break-RES do-PFV

You broke the plough.

6.24 *⁴kyat = Ø* *³cin-ci* *¹ro*

work = ABS finish-PFV REP

[They say] the work is finished.

6.25 **²cyun = se* *⁴kyat = Ø* *³cin-ci* *¹ro*

*little.bro = ERG work = ABS finish-PFV REP

*Little brother says he has finished the work.

6.26 *²cyun = se* *⁴kyat = Ø* *³cin-na* *¹la-ci* *¹ro*

little.bro = ERG work = ABS finish-PFV do-PFV REP

Little brother [says he] has finished the work.

It is also possible to use the causative construction with the labile class mentioned above, which gives a sense of a less direct action on the part of the agent than the simple transitive use of the lexeme (see Givon 1980 on the binding hierarchy). The membership of the labile class may be unstable as, for instance, the verb lexeme *¹lep* 'be hot/heat' can be used as an intransitive (eg. *²ki = Ø ¹lep-cim* (water = ABS be.hot-EXPER) 'the water has heated up') or a transitive (eg. *¹ŋye ²ki = Ø ¹lep-ci* (I.ERG water = ABS heat-PFV) 'I heated the water'), as well as with the causative construction (eg. *¹ŋye ²ki = Ø ¹lep-na ¹la-ci* (I.ERG water = ABS heat-RES do-PFV) 'I made the

water hot'), whereas the verb *ˡsim* 'be cold' can only be used as an intransitive or with the causative construction, not as a transitive. As Zeisler (2006: 82) points out, participant frames for individual verbs in any language are under a constant process of development and reorganization. It could be the case that the S/P labile pattern in Tamang is either spreading or that it is retreating.

6.5 The 'trajectory model' of clausal relations

The variable case-marking patterns of many types of arguments which are discussed in earlier sections of this chapter make it difficult to delineate tidy patterns of morphological alignment in Tamang, although as Haspelmath (2009: 511) points out, few languages exhibit ideal systems of alignment, so Tamang is perhaps not so remarkable in this regard. However, an alternative model for looking at alignment is proposed in Tournadre (1994) for Tibetan, which also fits Tamang well. This is also perhaps not surprising as it appears likely that the Tamangic and Tibetan groups are closely related subbranches of Tibeto-Burman (see section 1.2).

Tournadre calls this framework 'the trajectory model', describing it as 'semantico-syntactic system in which the agent, the patient and the goal are viewed in terms of landmarks along a trajectory' (1994: 261). Specifically, he proposes that clausal (and some cross-clausal) relations in Tibetan can best be explained by proposing two 'supercases': Source and Goal (Tournadre 1994: 267-8).[91] The Source is the starting point of an action and the Goal is the endpoint of an action. These cases can also refer to action being exerted towards a central point of the sentence, and action flowing away from a central point of the sentence, respectively. Source therefore subsumes agents and causes (and subsumes ergative, ablative and instrumental case functions), while Goal subsumes the spatio-temporal locative case and benefactives. He also notes that the supercases function in clause chaining constructions in much the same way as they do on NPs, as the Source case can mark a

[91] When discussing these supercase categories, I will begin the word with a capital letter so as to differentiate them, as formal categories, from discussions of thematic roles with the same terminology in other parts of the thesis.

causal clause and the Goal case can mark a purpose clause (see also Genetti 1991 for a discussion of the relationship between case-marking and clausal subordination in Newar).

This model also captures very well the patterns of case-marking which are evident in Tamang, and is able to accommodate all of the features discussed in this chapter which presented problems for the more conventional models of alignment discussed in section 6.2. In Tamang, the form *=se* indicates Source and the morpheme *=ta* indicates Goal. These categories subsume respectively ergative and ablative cases (including the uses of the latter for adjuncts such as instruments, causes etc.), and patientive and dative cases (including the uses of the latter for complements including beneficiaries, and adjuncts). This model works for the Source case better in Tamang (where it is represented by one form, *=se*) than it does in Tibetan (which has distinct ergative and ablative cases, *=kyis* and *=nas* respectively).[92] However, the Goal case is less straightforward in Tamang due to the fact that a different case, locative *=i* is used for inanimate (ie. spatial and temporal) goals from the form *=ta* which is used for animate goals. As mentioned in section 6.1.4, this separation appears to indicate the greater importance of animacy in Tamang compared to Tibetan, which uses the same form *=la* for both animate and inanimate goals. While Source and Goal of the state of affairs expressed in a clause are generally marked by *=se* and *=ta* respectively, the centre of gravity of a clause, which is the most prominent participant, does not have overt case-marking and stands in the absolutive case *=Ø*. We can call this case status 'Neutral'. This gives a total of three supercases, which can be represented schematically as follows:

[92] Although as mentioned in section 6.2.2, it has been proposed that a morpheme **se* which indicated the 'source' of a process existed in an early stage of Bodic, of which the Tamang form *=se* and the [s] elements of the Tibetan forms *=kyis, =nas* etc. are reflexes (see Delancey 1985).

<table>
<tr><td>Non-direct elements
Source
ABL: =se</td><td colspan="3">Direct arguments
Neutral
ERG: =se ABS: =Ø PAT: =ta</td><td>Non-direct elements
Goal
DAT: =ta
[LOC: =i]</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">adjuncts (cause, instrument)</td><td colspan="3">S</td><td rowspan="4">complement beneficiary adjuncts</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">A</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="2">P</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>T</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">G</td></tr>
</table>

Table 6.10: The trajectory model

As we can see in table 6.10, there is some variation in the marking of different types of arguments. However, they gravitate towards particular supercases. For instance, T and G arguments can only be Neutral (=Ø) and Goal (=*ta*) respectively.[93] A and P arguments exhibit some overlap, as either can be expressed as Neutral (ie. zero-marked) in a clause, however only A arguments can be Source (=*se*) and only P arguments Goal (=*ta*). We can also note that the most unmarked case for P arguments is Neutral, and those P arguments marked with Goal are an untypical category, human patients; while the use of the Source case for A arguments is more syntacticized, therefore can be considered the most unmarked case for A arguments. S arguments can occur in any of these three cases, however the most unmarked marking of an S argument is Neutral, and marking with Source or Goal case is restricted to some instances, each only involving a specific class of intransitive predicates.

As with the analysis of the Tamang case morphemes in chapter 4, we have to recognise that the use of the supercases is only partially syntacticized. Any direct argument (S, A, P or T) can be a centre of gravity of a clause, standing in the Neutral case. The use of Source or Goal cases on any these is primarily semantic (see section 6.1.2), and indicates either an argument which is the source of action

[93] This entails that in ditransitive clauses, at least those in the perfective where the A argument tends to be marked ergative, the T argument can be considered the centre of gravity of the clause, and the A and G arguments Source and Goal respectively. This fits with the fact that T is the easiest argument to relativize in a ditransitive clause (see section 7.7), however cross-clausal relations vary according to construction and so the privileged access of the T argument to pivothood in relative clauses is not reflected in other constructions.

or an argument which is affected by the action. This function has become more syntacticized for the Source case, which is often used for verbs (eg. *[1]mraŋ* 'see', *[1]the:* 'hear', *[3]se:* 'know') which do not involve agency on the part of the A argument (see section 6.1.3). Oblique elements including G arguments, complements and adjuncts cannot be the centre of gravity of a clause and must be explicitly marked as Source or Goal of actions. Their inability to stand in the Neutral case reflects the fact that they are more conceptually distant from the centre of gravity of the clause, and less directly involved in the state of affairs expressed in the predicate. The fact that the unmarked case for P arguments is neutral, while Source marking is more syntacticized for A arguments reflects the fact that Tamang's tendency towards ergativity is stronger than a tendency towards any other alignment pattern. This tendency is also reflected in some other patterns, for instance the preference of an S/P (ie. ergative) pivot for relativization (see section 7.7), and a class of truly labile verbs on a patient-preserving (ie. ergative) pattern (see section 6.4).

The Neutral case appears to be the default case assignment for an NP if no semantic, syntactic or pragmatic element of the utterance provides a compelling enough reason to mark it with one of the overt cases. The Neutral-marked argument's prominence as centre of gravity in a clause is clear if there is only one argument with no overt marking, but it is also not uncommon for there to be two Neutral arguments in a clause, especially in non-past contexts with non-human patients (for example *[1]ŋyina = Ø [2]airak = Ø [2]thuŋ-pano [1]mula* (we.EXCL = ABS liquor = ABS drink-PROG COPA.NPST) 'we are drinking liquor'). In such instances, roles can be distinguished by real world knowledge about the semantic properties of appropriate arguments in the participant frame of the verb, and by attention to the relationship between role, information structure and constituent order.

For example, the agent of *[2]thuŋ* 'drink' is animate while the patient is a liquid. Furthermore, as mentioned in section 3.5.1, the clause-initial position in Tamang is topical while the pre-verbal position is focal. There is a natural correlation in discourse between topic and agent on the one hand, and focus and patient on the other hand (see DuBois 1987). In Tamang, hearers can process

discourse with the assumption that unless marked as otherwise, topics (ie. the first of the two arguments) are agents. If the topic is not also the agent then this tends to be overtly marked in some way. This may be through case-marking (see section 6.3), or the set of morphemes which mark pragmatic status independently of case relations (see section 3.5.2).

For example, with the same proposition in the previous example, if the liquor is topical and the speaker wishes to focus the identity of the drinkers (if, for instance, the hearer is mistaken as to who is drinking), he/she is likely to say *²airak=Ø ¹ŋyine ²thuŋ-pano ¹mula* (liquor=ABS we.EXCL.ERG drink-PROG COPA.NPST) '*we* are drinking liquor', or *²airak=⁴ca=Ø ¹ŋyine ²thuŋ-pano ¹mula* (liquor=CTOP=ABS we.EXCL.ERG drink-PROG COPA.NPST) '*we* are drinking liquor'. The use of the contrastive topic marker *=⁴ca* is a stylistic choice, however the use of ergative on the focal agent is much more likely than in the canonical word order with agent as topic. An alternation such as this can be seen as an example of perspective (see section 6.3), where Tamang speakers can make use of the variations of word order, case-marking and pragmatic status marking in order to express different perspectives on a proposition without operations such as passive which depend on the separation of syntactic relations from thematic roles.[94]

Transitive clauses with two Neutral arguments therefore do not have overt marking of Source or Goal, although (as discussed above) other means can be used to distinguish roles in the utterance. It could be proposed that if the roles of agent and patient can be identified then these can then be equated with Source and Goal. However, this would misconstrue the semantic nature of the supercases. If one argument is Neutral, then another argument which is explicitly marked as Source or Goal must have strong enough semantic properties (either of itself or from its role in the utterance) to justify the marking. In clauses where the P argument is Neutral, the A argument is only marked with Source if it plays a decisive role in the outcome of the P argument being as expressed

[94] Tamang also has other strategies of manipulating the information structure of a sentence, for instance the alternation of auxiliary constructions between the attributive copula *¹mu* and the equative copula *³hin* (see section 3.5.4).

in the clause.[95] In a sentence such as *[1]ŋyina=Ø [2]airak=Ø [2]thuŋ-pano [1]mula* 'we are drinking liquor', the P argument is not a typical patient as it is not totally affected by the process of the verb (see sections 2.1.3 and 2.2). The A argument is therefore not agentive enough to be marked as a Source. Inanimate patients for their part are never marked, and marking of P arguments is semantic (based on their animacy and affectedness).

Clauses with two Neutral arguments might therefore be considered to have no centre of gravity, or that both Neutral arguments constitute the centre of gravity. The second interpretation works nicely for ongoing processes (ie. imperfective clauses) which at the point of reference involve both arguments (examples are A and P in transitive clauses, and A and T in ditransitive clauses). The weakness of this viewpoint is that human P arguments might be marked as Goal even in imperfective clauses. We might propose that the human status of the P argument in such clauses accords it more empathy on the part of the speaker, which can justify its being affected even by the ongoing process as being explicitly marked.

The centre of gravity of a clause has an important relationship with temporal and aspectual semantics, and the trajectory model provides a good explanation for tense/aspect-conditioned splits in case-marking (see Dixon 1994: 97-101; McGregor 2009: 490-2) of the kind that we see in Tamang. As discussed in sections 6.1.2 and 6.1.3, ergative marking of A arguments is much more common in perfective and perfect clauses than in imperfective clauses, in which the A argument often has zero case-marking (although ergative can be used in these situations too, its use depending on various factors). The greater tendency to ergativity in past/perfective contexts is a feature which Tamang shares with all languages that exhibit tense-aspectual splits in case-marking patterns, although the split in Tamang is less neat than is reported for many other languages.

[95] Except, as I have mentioned, with verbs which govern ergative case on the agent, in which case ergative marking appears to have become syntacticized.

As discussed in section 6.1.2, DeLancey (1982) proposes that tense/aspect-based splits in case-marking can be explained by what he calls 'viewpoint': speakers can take alternative viewpoints regarding a state of affairs, viewing it either from the point of its onset (which gravitates towards the agent) or of its termination (which gravititates towards the patient). The categories Source and Goal on the trajectory model fit closely with this proposal: the Source can be identified with the point where an action originates (ie. an agent), while the Goal can be identified with the point where the action terminates (ie. the patient). The point of difference between this view and the trajectory model which I adopt here is that the latter also includes the centre of gravity (which I referred to earlier as the 'Neutral' point) between the the Source and Goal, however the tendencies described in both approaches are the same. The inclusion of Neutral as well as Source and Goal is appropriate for Tamang which has three cases used for direct arguments (absolutive, ergative and patientive), differing from languages which have two main cases for direct arguments (nominative/accusative or ergative/absolutive). Incorporating the principle of viewpoint regarding an event into the trajectory model with the three points on the trajectory (Source/Centre/Goal) gives a good explanation of Tamang's stronger tendency towards ergative marking in perfective and perfect clauses.

The trajectory model can also accommodate the patterns of lexeme- and construction-specific case-marking (eg. inverse clauses), variable perspective, argument suppression and ambitransitivity that we see in Tamang. For instance, in an inverse clause (see section 5.3.3), the participant which has more properties of a proto-patient is absolutive (ie. Neutral) and constitutes the centre of gravity of the clause, while the more agentive participant is in the Goal case. This indicates that the flow of the process is towards the agentive participant rather than the other way round, which is compatible with the semantics of verbs which are in this class (eg. *[1]yaŋ* 'be available, get', *[3]roŋ* 'be tasty', *[3]yo:* 'be enough'), which do not involve typical agents and patients, but experiencers and stimuli, which are often expressed through non-canonical marking patterns and constructions across many of the world's languages (Bickel 2010). Goal case is also used for the stimulus in intransitive clauses with

dative complements, where dative marking of the goal indicates the S argument's emotion or feeling towards the stimulus (see section 5.3.2).

It appears that certain verbs (ie. the labile class, see section 6.4) have an inherent orientation towards the patient, which is consistently Neutral in both the intransitive and transitive uses of the verbal lexeme, while an agent, if expressed, always stands as a Source. Many other verbs can allow either perspective, and either the A or P argument can be Neutral, depending (as discussed in sections 6.3 and 6.4) on factors such as tense/aspect as well as discourse prominence/information structure. For instance, with the verb *ʲca* 'eat', the P argument may suppressed in non-past utterances (see section 2.3) indicating that the A argument is Neutral (its clause-initial position and absolutive case-marking also correlate with this status), while in utterances referring to the past it is not possible to suppress the P argument, which receives absolutive marking (while the A argument is ergative), indicating that the P argument is Neutral in this context.

LaPolla et al. (2011) refer to Halliday's (2004) discussion of transitive and ergative models of transitivity in English. The former type indicates those instances where the A argument is the centre of gravity in the clause and the latter to those with the P argument as the centre of gravity. The former type are viewed as a 'process and extension', which they explain as follows:

> 'the emphasis is on an Actor, coded as Subject, doing something, and that action may or may not be extended ('carry across') to another participant' (LaPolla et al. 2011: 479).

The latter are viewed as the 'instigation of a process' rather than the extension of a process:

> 'looking at it this way, we can say that there is some process (an action, event or state), and one referent, the Medium (the medium through which the process is

> actualised), and the question is whether the process is brought about by that participant or by some other entity (an Agent)' (LaPolla et al. 2011: 480).

Both the 'Actor' and the 'Medium' which they refer to can be equated with Neutral on our trajectory model: in utterances whose starting point is the A argument, this argument is Neutral while the P argument, further down the trajectory of the process, is Goal, while in utterances with the P argument as starting point, this argument is Neutral while the A argument is Source.[96] This analysis can also be applied to utterances involving three participants. In such situations, non-direct elements marked with ablative *=se* give more information about the Source of the process, which can include a starting location, a cause, an instrument etc.; while those marked with dative *=ta* (or locative *=i*) give more information about the Goal of the process, which can be a beneficiary, location etc.

LaPolla et al. (2011: 481) point out that recognising the A-centred ('transitive') and P-centred ('ergative') construction types as alternative models with a single language allows us to explain patterns such as ambitransitivity and inverse constructions, and argue that transitivity is best seen as follows:

> 'not as a cross-linguistically universal phenomenon and a global phenomenon within a single language, but as one that can grammaticalise in different ways in different constructions within a single language and across languages' (2011: 482).

In Tamang therefore, a transitive proposition can be expressed in a variety of different ways, and its expression is influenced by a number of variables, starting with the lexical specifications (frame) of

[96] As discussed above, this pattern works perfectly in clauses with one Neutral and one non-Neutral argument. In clauses where both arguments are Neutral roles are construed by means other than case.

the verb and semantic properties of the arguments, whose expression is then influenced by factors such as the tense/aspect, and information structure of the utterance.

7. Cross-clausal relations and dependent clauses

Tamang possesses a number of strategies for clause linkage, including coordination and several kinds of dependent clauses. While coordinated clauses are structurally independent and possess main verbs (see section 7.1) as well as fully autonomous patterns of case-marking, dependent clauses exhibit varying patterns (and different degrees) of subordination to a main clause. These variables include the finite or non-finite status of their predicate, subordination by a complementizer, their structural position vis-à-vis the main clause (ie. embedded or otherwise), case-marking patterns, compulsory gapping of coreferential arguments, restrictions as to which elements of the main clause can occur in the dependent clause, and what their role can be in that clause.

7.1 Structures of clause linkage

When discussing dependent clauses, it is important to remember that Tamang presents a number of difficulties with regard to drawing a clean line between main and dependent clauses. The first of these is that a number of verbal inflections which appear to be primarily non-finite can also be used for free-standing utterances: this is most common with the nominalizer *-pa*, but the sequential converbial *-si*, conditional *-(y)e(m)* and intentional modal *-te/-i* can also be used in both dependent and main verbal constructions (see section 3.3). Another issue arises with complex constructions formed from two verbal lexemes, which in Tamang always involve one verb with main verb inflection (ie. the structural head) and another verb lexeme which is subordinated to it in some way. There exists a cline between highly compact constructions (eg. with auxiliaries, modals, serial verbs) which display a high degree of integration between the structural head and the dependent predicate (which remains the semantic head), and those which have a looser relationship between the main and dependent verb (eg. constructions with nominalized verbal complements). Givon (1980) proposes that this cline closely reflects the degree of semantic integration of the two actions (see also Foley and Van Valin 1984: 268-72): while highly integrated constructions tend to reflect states

of affairs which are difficult to separate conceptually into two actions, less integrated constructions tend to be used when the state of affairs expressed by the dependent verbal lexeme is more separable from that of the main verb, and when there is lower degree of certainty with regard to the success of achieving the state of affairs expressed by the dependent verb (see Givon 1980: 334-8).

I treat auxiliary constructions, serial constructions and modal constructions as monoclausal (see section 3.3.1), and complement constructions as biclausal. This distinction is based on the participant frames of these constructions: while an auxiliary, serial or modal construction has one set of arguments in the same manner as a simple inflected verb, a complement construction involves two predicate frames (in the main and dependent clause) which are linked but distinguishable (all complement constructions involve a compulsory gapping of the pivot argument in the dependent clause, which can be S/A or P depending on the lexical stipulations of the matrix verb). Auxiliary, modal and serial constructions therefore fall with the same patterns as those discussed in chapter 5 for main clauses, while complement clauses are discussed in this chapter (see section 7.6). On the same note, the two complex causative constructions which by the same criteria also appear to be monoclausal in Tamang are also discussed in chapter 5.

There are also tendencies in Tamang for some converbs to coalesce into auxiliary constructions, which have a unified participant frame rather than a separate frame for each verb (see section 7.3.2). Complications therefore arise in drawing a clean boundary between true converbial clause chaining and complex constructions involving converbial morphology on one of the verbs, due to the fact that they can appear formally identical (if the converb appears immediately before the main verb and the S/A arguments of both clauses are coreferential), and that topical participants are frequently omitted, which means that it can be difficult in some instances to ascertain whether slots for two sets of arguments are theoretically present but not all filled due to zero anaphora, or whether slots are present for only one unified predicate frame (which also may or may not be overtly expressed). Non-expression of arguments in converbial clauses works on a different basis from complement

clauses governed by matrix verbs, as while in the latter (as mentioned above) the pivot argument is gapped in the dependent clause - indicating a grammatical relation between the arguments of the two clauses - the former have no pivots and no compulsory gapping, and omission of arguments is controlled by the same principles of topicality and zero anaphora which operate across sentence boundaries rather than by any grammatical relation. Therefore, the fusion of a converb and main verb into an auxiliary construction entails the loss of a complete set of fillable slots of one participant frame, the end result being something more similar to a serial construction (which is also monoclausal) than a biclausal complement construction. This process appears to be complete in constructions such as the benefactive (formed from the sequential converb of the predicate plus a main form of the verb *[1]pin* 'give', see section 5.4.2) and the durative (with the sequential converb and a main verb *[2]ṭi* 'sit').

Another interesting feature of Tamang clause linkage is that propositions of purpose (which involve a main verb of motion, most commonly *[1]ni* 'go', *[1]kha* 'come' or *[1]yu* 'come down' with a second verb indicating the purpose of that motion) can be expressed either as serial constructions (with a tight fusion of the stem of the second predicate with an inflected motion verb eg. *[1]cya: [1]yu-ci* (look come.down-PFV) '[he] came down to look') or with a complement construction, where the nominalized predicate must be marked in either the locative or dative case (eg. *[1]cya:-pa=i/=ta [1]yu-ci* (look-NOMZ=LOC/=DAT come.down-PFV) '[he] came down to look') (see section 7.6.2). The existence of two alternative constructions (which appear to have little difference in meaning) for essentially the same proposition suggests that speakers conceive of purpose propositions as something between one complex action and two discrete actions. This is interesting, as the complex construction involving the verb *[3]cin* 'finish' as a main verb, which indicates that a state of affairs in the predicate has already been completed (ie. has grammaticalized from a literal reading, which might be interpreted as two actions, into an aspectual reading, which is best conceived of as one action), can only be formed with a full nominalized complement (eg. *[1]ni-pa [3]cin-ci* (go-NOMZ

finish-PFV) '[he] left already').[97] The fact that this construction is less structurally integrated than one type of purpose construction appears to indicate that semantic cohesion of the two verbs into a unitary state of affairs is not the only factor determining the degree of integration of complex constructions.

As Van Valin (1981) and Kibrik (1985) point out, a tendency to ergative alignment in the main clause (often referred to as 'morphological ergativity', see Dixon 1994) is seldom accompanied by consistent S/P (ie. ergative) pivots for clause linkage (often referred to as 'syntactic ergativity', see Dixon 1994), and many languages display a variety of pivots for different types of dependent clause.[98] Tamang is an example of such a language, with a variety of dependent clausal structures which possess different kinds of relations with the main clause. Although some complement clauses exhibit an exclusive pivot relation (which requires compulsory gapping) of their S/A argument with the S/A argument of the main clause (of the type which is proposed as characteristic of grammatical 'subjects', see Keenan 1976), in some cases this pivot relation holds between P in the main clause and S/A in the complement clause, and in some cases between S in the main clause and P in the complement clause. These relations are all lexically specified by the matrix predicate. Relative clauses in fact show preference for an S/P pivot (although all arguments and many peripheral elements can also be relativized), and many types of dependent clause in Tamang (eg. converbial clauses, adverbial clauses) do not work on a pivot relation at all, with roles interpreted according to pragmatics and 'real world knowledge' in a similar manner to some other Sino-Tibetan languages such as Chinese (see LaPolla 1993) and Meithei (see Chelliah 2009). Therefore, the S/A pivot (or 'subject relation') which holds between main and dependent clauses in, for instance, English cannot be taken as general in Tamang, and pivots (both with regard to their presence/absence and to which

[97] This construction appears to be particular to the Tamang dialect spoken in the villages of Namlang and Lekharka, where I carried out most of my field work, as in many other dialects a serial construction (eg. *[1]ni [3]cin-ci*) is used.

[98] My usage of the term 'pivot' departs from that followed by Dixon (1994) and Foley (2007), where a language is considered to have a pivot only if the majority of its grammatical constructions revolve around a specific set of arguments (eg. S/A in English, or S/P in Dyirbal). Following Bickel's (2010: 400) observation that grammatical relations are construction-specific, I refer to the relation of each type of dependent clause with the main clause as a pivot relation separate from other types of clause.

arguments they privilege in each clause) must considered on a construction-by-construction basis. The existence of a number of dependent clause types which do not resolve around syntactic pivots might be seen as a typological counterpart to the primarily semantic patterns of case-marking in the main clause (see Dixon 1994: 33).

Different types of clause linkage can be classified on a number of criteria. The first are whether or not the clause can be considered finite by virtue of being predicated by a 'finite' verb,[99] and if it is finite, whether it is dependent on the main clause due to some other aspect of its structure (eg. the complementizer governing non-finite clausal complements, or the correlativizing element - a content question word - in a correlative clause): by these criteria only coordinated clauses are fully independent. Next, we should consider whether the relevant clause is embedded in another clause: some types of dependent clause must be in a position embedded in the main clause, some types may be embedded or not, while some (above all conditionals) tend not to be. We also need to consider grammatical relations in dependent clauses and their relations with main clauses, with regard to three main questions: i) case-marking patterns in dependent clauses and whether they differ from patterns typical of main clauses; ii) in types of dependent clause involving nominalized predicates (which can take nominal case morphology), whether the whole clause is case-marked for its role in the main clause; iii) whether the omission of arguments is determined by compulsory gapping strategies or by normal processes of (zero) anaphora. It is also useful to consider the principles which control anaphora across clauses, and note any particularities which apply only to certain types of clause.

[99] As discussed in section 3.5.3, verbs with the nominalizer *-pa* (which form the predicate takes in a number of types of dependent clause) can also stand as main verbs in Tamang, meaning that some main clauses are formally identical to dependent clauses. Therefore a clause type such as 'finite complement' should be considered as finite not because it always involves explicitly finite verbal morphology, but because its predicate can take the full range of finite verbal inflections (see section 3.3.3). Non-finite clauses cannot do this, and are limited to the (more typically) non-finite inflections such as nominalized, converbial or conditional.

The types of Tamang clause linkage with regard to these criteria are summarized in table 7.1, which is arranged in order roughly from the most independent type of clause (a coordinated clause) to the type of clause which has the most restrictions imposed by the main clause (a P-raising complement), and as such can be considered the most dependent type of clause. The importance of nominalization in dependent constructions leaps out, as nominalized verbs are extensively used for (non-finite) complements and relative clauses (cf. Noonan 1997). Genetti et al. (2008) note an important distinction in a number of Tibeto-Burman languages between nominalized clauses which contain gapped arguments and those where no arguments are gapped. Both patterns exist in Tamang. In non-finite complement clauses which are governed by matrix verbs, the pivot argument in the complement clause is gapped according to the lexical specifications of the matrix verb (see section 7.6.2). Two types of nominalized clause can also function as canonical arguments at the main clause level (ie. they are not governed by a restricted class of matrix verbs). Headless relative clauses (see section 7.7.2) contain a compulsory gap for the relativized element (on the same pattern as full relative clauses, see section 7.7.1), while non-gapped clausal complements (see section 7.6.4) do not contain any gapped arguments, although arguments can be omitted according to normal principles of zero anaphora.

Type of clause		'Finite'	Dependent	Embedded	Nominalized predicate / case on clause	Cross-clausal relations: anaphora/pivot?	Relations in dependent clause
Coordinated clause		Yes	No	No	No	pragmatic, anaphora	NA
Correlative clause		Yes	Yes	No	No	pragmatic, anaphora	as main clause
Finite complement		Yes	Yes	Can be	No	pragmatic, anaphora	as main clause
Conditional clause		No	Yes	No	No	pragmatic, anaphora	as main clause
Converbial clause		No	Yes	Can be	No	pragmatic, anaphora	as main clause
Adverbial clause		No	Yes	Can be	Some types	pragmatic, anaphora	as main clause
Non-gapped clausal complement		No	Yes	Yes	Yes / marked for role in main clause	pragmatic, anaphora	ERG case compulsory if non-pivot A argument expressed, otherwise same as main clause
Relative and headless relative clause		No	Yes	Yes	Yes / normal relative not eligible for case as it is adnominal; headless relative marked for role in main clause	grammatical: pivot any element of relative clause, but preference for S/P, can be any element of main clause; other arguments omitted by anaphora	pivot gapped; ERG case compulsory if non-pivot A argument expressed, otherwise same as main clause
Governed non-finite complement	main S/A to comp S/A	No	Yes	Yes	Yes / LOC, DAT or zero	grammatical: pivot lexically determined; other arguments omitted by anaphora	as main clause but pivot gapped
	main P to comp S/A	No	Yes	Yes	Yes / LOC or DAT	grammatical: pivot lexically determined; other arguments omitted by anaphora	as main clause but pivot gapped
	main S to comp P	No	Yes	Yes	Yes / DAT	grammatical: pivot lexically determined; other arguments omitted by anaphora	both pivot (P) and A arguments gapped

Table 7.1: Structures of clause linkage

These processes are also affected by the fact that Tamang main clauses display a variety of patterns for participants and case-marking patterns, not all of which are compatible with all types of clause. For instance, although some governed non-finite complement clauses operate on an S/A pivot with the A argument of transitive matrix predicates, it is not possible for the dative-marked complement

of an inverse predicate (see section 5.5.3) to be pivot of a non-finite complement clause, even though this element is more agent-like than the S argument of the predicate.

In this chapter I will consider the various types of Tamang clause linkage, and how they fit into the scheme of grammatical relations in the language as a whole. As a number of the structures discussed in this chapter involve phenomena such as embedding and gapping, I will mark the boundaries of dependent clauses with square brackets, and gapped and zero anaphoric arguments where appropriate.

7.2 Coordination of clauses

Tamang has a number of means of coordinating clauses. The predicates of coordinated clauses are both finite, and neither clause is structurally dependent on the other clause. Both clauses can therefore be considered main rather than dependent clauses. The rules governing anaphora and overt expression of arguments are the same as those which work across sentences: topical elements need not be overtly expressed, and evidentiality and implicatures related to person (see section 3.5) are exploited to fill in information about the identity of various arguments. The strategies employed for coordination of clauses include straight juxtaposition:

7.1	*[1]ni-i*	*[4]man-takila*	*[1]ni*	*[3]a-[4]myaŋ-ni*
	go-INC	want-PERF	go	NEG-get.to-PFV.NEG
	[I] wanted to go (but) [I] didn't get the chance.			

Juxtaposition of two clauses is more common in Tamang than, for example, in English. This strategy is ambiguous as to whether the second clause is in disjunction (ie. in contrast) to or conjunction with the first clause. There are also clear means of expressing conjunction and disjunction, as follows:

[2]ose, [2]osem, [2]osema, [2]osemam: 'and so, and then'

7.2 *cautara = i* *[3]parsa* *[4]ni:* *[2]ʈi-pa* *[2]ose* *[3]cyapa-le* *[3]se:-pa*

Chautara = LOC year two sit-NOMZ and.so good-ADV know-NOMZ

[I] lived in Chautara for two years, so [I] know it well.

[3]pileno: 'but, nevertheless'; *tara* : 'but'

7.3 *[1]ni-i* *[4]man-takila* *tara* *[1]ni* *[3]a-[4]myaŋ-ni*

go-INC want-PERF but go NEG-get.to-PFV.NEG

[I] wanted to go but [I] didn't get the chance.

[2]ut [3]piyem 'in that case' and *[2]cem* 'therefore, in that case' indicate that the sentence which they open follows logically from the preceding discourse. *[2]ut [3]piyem* is derived from the oblique form of the addressee-centred demonstrative *[2]ucu*, which is used anaphorically for elements which are topical in the discourse, including a whole proposition (see section 3.4.2), and the conditional form of *[3]pi* 'say'. The literal meaning of the expression is something like 'if you say that', however it appears to have been conventionalized as an expression (the fact that the oblique rather than full form of the demonstrative pronoun is used is evidence for this).

7.4 *[2]ut [3]piyem* *[1]ni* *[1]to:-ci* *[1]wa*

in.that.case go must-PFV PART

In that case [you] need to go then, don't you?

7.5 *[2]cem* *[1]ŋa = then* *[1]kho*

therefore I = COM come.HORT

Then come with me.

ki 'or' can be used either before the second of two clauses to mean 'or', or before both clauses to mean 'either…or':

7.6 *[4]ci=Ø* *[2]thuŋ-pa* *ki* *[2]airak=Ø* *[2]thuŋ-pa?*
beer=ABS drink-NOMZ or liquor=ABS drink-NOMZ?
Shall [we] drink beer or liquor? [OR] Do [you want to] drink beer or liquor?

7.7 *ki* *[2]ci:* *[2]ʈi-pa* *ki* *[1]yampu=i* *[1]ni-pa*
either here stay-NOMZ or Kathmandu=LOC go-NOMZ
Either [I]'ll stay here or [I]'ll go to Kathmandu.

Although the clauses in the above examples are coordinated, they are all structurally independent, and have the same patterns of grammatical relations as any monoclausal sentence.

7.3 Converbial clauses

Converbial clauses are dependent on the main clause both syntactically and in terms of their temporal reference, which gives information about when the relevant events took place relative to the time reference established by the main clause rather than independent temporal reference. Comrie (1985) refers to such time reference as 'relative tense.[100] Converbial clauses typically occur before the main clause in a sentence although they can follow it as an afterthought. There is theoretically no limit to the number of converbial clauses which can precede a main clause, although in practice it is rare for there to be more than one or two. From an areal perspective, converbial

[100] The converbial suffixes (see section 7.3.1) are essentially non-finite although there are cases when a clause with a verb inflected with the sequential converb *-si* can be uttered as a free-standing sentence. It is tempting to assume in such cases that there is ellipsis of a hypothetical main clause (see Evans 2007), although they are one of several examples which suggest that Tamang does not have a rigid formal separation between finite and non-finite verbal morphology.

clauses are common across a large swathe of Asia, including South and Central Asia (Masica 1976: chapter 4). Therefore their presence in Tamang is certainly in accordance with areal tendencies.

As mentioned in section 7.1, certain expressions transparently involving a converb and main verb (eg. *-si ʔʈi* (-SEQ sit) 'do repeatedly, be in the process of') appear conventionalized enough that they are best analysed as aspectual constructions. This indicates that there is a tendency for some biclausal constructions to coalesce into single clauses. I will discuss this process in more detail in section 7.3.2. Tamang converbial clauses do not require gapping and do not have pivots: omission of arguments is determined by anaphora according to the same principles as main clauses, and although it is most common for the S/A argument of the main clause to be coreferential with the S/A argument of the converbial clause, this is not compulsory and there are means for signalling that this is or is not the case. It appears that the identity of referents across converbial clause chains is interpreted by pragmatics and real world knowledge (ie. likely A and P arguments of a given predicate) rather than any cross-clausal grammatical relation.

7.3.1 Converbial forms *-si, -ma, -na, -sima*

Indrawati Khola Tamang has three basic converbial forms.[101] These are:

-si : sequential temporal (also manner, reason)

-ma : durative temporal

-na : resultative (or manner)

Apart from their use as converbs, all of these forms also have other uses: *-si* and *-ma* have uses which would support their analysis as adverbializers (it is not certain whether these should be considered the same morphemes as the converbial suffixes, or homophonous morphemes - see

[101] It appears that other dialects (for instance Risiangku, see Mazaudon 2003a) have the same converbial forms as Indrawati Khola, however they are used somewhat differently.

section 3.4.1), and *-na* is also used in the direct causative construction (see section 5.5). *-si* and *-ma* can also be used together, giving a fourth converbial suffix: *-sima*, which combines the meanings of the two morphemes to give a meaning something like a durative situation following the state of affairs denoted by the converb.

While *-si* is labelled as 'sequential', there are also cases where it can indicate a state of affairs which is simultaneous to that of the main verb. The temporal interpretation appears to be related to the inherent aspect of the verb or verb phrase: if it is telic then the action expressed with *-si* will generally be understood as complete, whereas if it is non-telic (activities and states) then it can be read as inchoative, and ongoing when the action of the main verb occurs. The fact that the time reference of the dependent clause is tied to that of the main clause can be seen in the following examples:

7.8 *[1]ŋa=Ø [1]kan=Ø [1]ca-si [1]kha-la*

I=ABS rice=ABS eat-SEQ come-FUT

I will eat food and then come. [OR] I will come after I've eaten.

7.9 *[1]tam=Ø [2]paŋ-si [2]paŋ-si [4]pra-pano [1]mupa*

word=ABS say-SEQ say-SEQ walk-PROG COPA.PST

[They] were walking along talking. [OR] [They] were talking as they walked.

7.10 *[1]ŋa=Ø [4]pra-si [1]kha-ci*

I=ABS walk-SEQ come-PFV

I came on foot.

Example 7.8 with a telic converb shows a literal interpretation of successive and discrete actions, whereas 7.9 and 7.10 with non-telic converbs indicate an action which was ongoing at the time of

the action in the main clause, and in some cases merges with it. The ongoing nature of the converbial actions - and thus the simultaneity of the two actions - is emphasized by repeating the converb, as in example 7.9.

Therefore *-si* can be used to give details about the manner of the action of the main verb, and is often used to that effect. Tamang has a tendency not to express the manner of an action with main verbs, preferring to do this using subordinate clauses. Tamang could therefore be considered a 'verb-framing' language (one in which manner of action is not expressed on the main verb) rather than a 'satellite-framing' language (one in which main verbs often do express manner) (see Talmy 1991). This can be seen be comparing the following Tamang sentences with their translations into English (which is considered a satellite-framing language):

7.11 *[2]chaŋ=se* *[4]ci=Ø* *[3]um-si* *[3]ʧut-ci*
sis.in.law=ERG beer=ABS pour-SEQ extract-PFV
Sister-in-law poured out the beer.

7.12 *[2]yuŋpu=Ø* *[1]ril-si* *[1]ni-ci*
stone=ABS roll-SEQ go-PFV
The stone rolled away.

Clauses with *-si* can also be interpreted as the reason for the action/situation expressed in the main clause. For example:

7.13 *[2]nam=se* *[3]pam-si* *[1]wan=Ø* *[3]tep* *[1]ni-ci*
rain=ABL get.wet-SEQ material=ABS change go-PFV
As [he] got soaked in the rain, [he] went to change clothes.

-si alone is rarely used for negative converbial clauses. To talk about things which have *not* happened in a converbial clause, it is more common to use the composite suffix *-sima*, or the suffix *-na*, sometimes followed with another adverbialising suffix *-le* (see section 3.4.1 or example 7.19).

The durative converb *-ma* can also be suffixed directly to the stem of a subordinate verb. In such cases, it indicates that while the action of the subordinate clause was ongoing, the action of the main verb occurred. For example:

7.14	*[3]pacar=i=se*	*[1]kha-ma*	*[2]mam=ta*	*[1]mraŋ-ci*
	bazaar=LOC=ABL	come-DUR	grandmother=PAT	see-PFV
	Coming back from the bazaar, [I] saw grandmother.			

7.15	*[4]kyat*	*[1]la-ma*	*chat=se*	*[1]teː-ci*
	work	do-DUR	roof=ABL	fall-PFV
	While working, [he] fell from the roof.			

However, in this dialect of Tamang it is more commonly suffixed to *-si* than directly to a verb stem. Dependent clauses with a verb inflected *-sima* are in some ways a stylistic alternative to converbial clauses with simple sequential *-si.* The difference between them is that while clauses in *-si* have a relatively high degree of conceptual integration with the main clause (which can allow the participant structures of the dependent and main clauses to be collapsed into one clause), clauses in *-sima* clearly denote a situation following the state of affairs of the predicate and indicate a greater degree of temporal and conceptual separation between the two clauses. Firstly, this gives a greater sense of completion to the action than simple *-si*, as can be seen from looking at examples with the same predicates which had co-temporal interpretions in earlier examples:

7.16 *[1]tam=Ø* *[2]paŋ-sima* *[4]pra-pano* *[1]mupa*

word=ABS say-SEQ.DUR walk-PROG COPA.PST

[They] were walking along after their conversation.

7.17 *[1]ŋa=Ø* *[4]pra-sima* *[4]tu:-ci*

I=ABS walk-SEQ.DUR get.tired-PFV

I got tired after walking.

The resultative suffix *-na*, when used on a positive subordinate verb, indicates that the proposition in the dependent clause is a result of the proposition in the main clause.

7.18 *[1]ŋye* *[2]mren-na* *[1]kan=Ø* *[1]ca-ci*

I.ERG be.satisfied-RES rice=ABS eat-PFV

I ate enough to satisfy me. [Lit: 'I ate with the result that I was satisfied.']

Several expressions which are now lexicalized appear to have developed from clauses in *-na*. Two very common ones are *[3]to:na* 'up till, as far as' ('with the result of arriving at') from *[3]to:* 'arrive' and *[2]yo:na* 'quickly' ('with the result of arriving early') from *[2]yo:* 'be early'. *-na* is also used for the direct causative construction (see section 5.5), and is the standard way of expressing a negative sequential converbial clause (ie. the opposite of a clause with *-si*, a clause stating something that didn't happen) if the S/A argument of both clauses is the same.[102] For example:

7.19 *[1]kan=Ø* *[3]a-[1]ca-na-le* *[3]mer* *[1]ni-ci*

rice=ABS NEG-eat-RES-ADV sleep go-PFV

[He/she] went to bed without having eaten.

[102] If the S/A argument is different then a converb with *-sima* is used (see section 7.3.2).

It is possible to emphasize the importance of the proposition in the converbial clause relative to that expressed in the main clause but adding the focus marker *=no* to the converbial suffix. For example:

7.20 *[2]e:=Ø* *[1]yampu=i* *[1]ni-sima=no* *[1]ta-pakila*
you=ABS Kathmandu=LOC go-SEQ.DUR=FOC happen-PERF
[It] happened *after* you went to Kathmandu (as opposed to before).

7.21 *[4]kyat* *[1]la-ma=no* *[1]si-pa*
work do-DUR=FOC die-NOMZ
[He/she] died while [he/she] was working.

7.3.2 Grammatical relations in converbial clauses

Case-marking patterns in converbial clauses do not differ from those in main clauses, and the relationship between the pivot argument in the dependent clause and its coreferent in the main clause is not expressed by a gapping strategy as in English, but by the same principles of anaphora which might apply across sentences. This means that participants can be omitted if they are topical. However, if the speaker wishes to speak with maximum clarity, they may all be expressed overtly. The S/A argument of a converbial clause can be coreferential with or different from the S/A argument of the main clause. If the S/A argument of the dependent and main clauses is the same, it is frequently not expressed overtly in at least one of these, and it is quite possible to omit it from both if it is an established topic. Either of these sentences is acceptable:

7.22 *[1]ŋa=Ø* *pasal=i* *[3]to:-si* *[Ø]* *[4]tim=i* *[1]ni-ci*
I=ABS shop=LOC arrive-SEQ [I] house=LOC go-PFV
After going to the shop I went home.

7.23 *[Ø] pasal=i [3]to:-si [1]ŋa=Ø [4]tim=i [1]ni-ci*

[I] shop=LOC arrive-SEQ I=ABS house=LOC go-PFV

After going to the shop I went home.

A referent whose identity is established in the earlier clause (usually the dependent clause) can of course be omitted if it occurs in the following clause. The following example shows all the arguments which are omitted by zero anaphora:

7.24 *[Ø] [2]mrasi=Ø [1]plu-si [Ø] [Ø] [4]tim=i [3]pa-ci*

[s/he] rice.grain=ABS buy-SEQ [s/he] [it] house=LOC bring.up-PFV

[S/he] bought rice and brought [it] home.

If the S/A arguments of the main and dependent clauses are different, they are often overtly expressed. As the durative sequential *-sima* gives a clearer separation of the events of both clauses than the straight sequential *-si* (which as mentioned above can be interpreted as simultaneous action and consequently manner of action), *-sima* is commonly used if the S/A argument of a converbial clause is different from that of the main clause, *-si* can also be used. For example:

7.25 *[1]ŋyana=Ø [2]namsa=i [1]kha-sima [2]e:=Ø [1]yampu=i*

we.INCL=ABS village=LOC come-SEQ.DUR you=ABS Kathmandu=LOC

[1]ni-si [1]pape [2]raŋku=Ø [1]plu-ci

go-SEQ father.ERG buffalo=ABS buy-PFV

After we came to the village and you went to Kathmandu, father bought a buffalo.

However, it is not essential for both arguments to be overtly expressed. As usual in Tamang, the overt expression depends on topicality. So the following sentences are grammatical if the S arguments of the main clauses are topical in the preceding discourse.

7.26 *[3]ahin* *[2]eː=Ø* *[1]ni-sima=no* *[Ø]* *[1]si-pa*

NEG.COPE you=ABS go-SEQ.DUR=FOC [he] die-NOMZ

No, [he] died after you left.

7.27 *[1]karma=Ø* *[1]ni-sima* *[Ø]* *[1]kha-pa* *[1]wa*

Karma=ABS go-SEQ.DUR [he] come-NOMZ PART

[He] came after Karma left didn't he?

It might also be the non-S/A argument of the other clause. For example:

7.28 *[3]ahin* *[2]a=se* *[Ø]* *[2]puŋ-sima* *[Ø]* *[1]haː-pa*

NEG.COPE you=ERG [him] beat-SEQ.DUR [he] cry-NOMZ

No, [he] is crying because you beat [him].

These examples present clear evidence that there is no control relationship between the S/A of the main clause and that of the dependent clause, and omission of arguments is conditioned by rules related to anaphora and topicality.

-sima is also generally used for negative converbial clauses if they have a different S/A argument from the main clause. For example:

7.29 *[3]ro-pakal=Ø* *[3]a-[1]kha-sima* *[1]ŋa=Ø* *[3]mer* *[1]ni-ci*

friend-PL=ABS NEG-come-SEQ.DUR I=ABS sleep go-PFV

My friends not having come, I went to sleep.

Plain *-si* cannot be used in these cases; nor can *-na*, which as mentioned in section 7.3.1 can be used for negative converbial clauses if the S/A argument is coreferential with that of the main clause.

Despite the fact that case-marking in converbial clauses is essentially the same as in main clauses, it is influenced by whether an S/A pivot is overtly expressed in the main clause or the dependent clause, and whether the dependent clause precedes or is embedded in the main clause. For example, in the following sentence *[2]cyun* 'little brother', which is overtly expressed in the main clause, can only be marked absolutive, as conditioned by the predicate of the main clause *[3]mer* 'sleep'. Ergative marking is ungrammatical:

7.30	*[[Ø]*	*[1]kan=Ø*	*[1]ca-si]*	*[2]cyun=Ø/*[2]cyun=se*	*[3]mer-ci*
	[he]	rice=ABS	eat-SEQ]	little.bro=ABS/*little.bro=ERG	sleep-PFV
	After eating, little brother went to bed.				

The fact that *[2]cyun* is expressed after the converb indicates clearly that the converbial clause precedes the main clause, and as *[2]cyun* clearly occurs in the main clause it is case-marked according to its role in the main clause. If the argument is overtly expressed at the start of the sentence its case-marking depends on whether it is part of the main clause (meaning that the converbial clause is embedded in the main clause, and the coreferential argument omitted in the converbial clause), or part of the converbial clause (meaning that the converbial clause precedes the main clause, and the coreferential argument is omitted in the main clause). See the following examples, one with a transitive converbial clause (which would suggest an ergative A in the past) and an intransitive main clause, and the other with an intransitive converbial clause and transitive main clause. On a surface reading, either absolutive or ergative case-marking is acceptable for *[2]cyun* in either example:

7.31 *²cyun=Ø/²cyun=se* *¹kan=Ø* *¹ca-si* *³mer-ci*

little.bro=ABS/little.bro=ERG rice=ABS eat-SEQ sleep-PFV

Little brother, after eating, went to bed.

7.32 *²cyun=Ø/²cyun=se* *¹chiŋ-sima* *¹kan=Ø* *¹ca-ci*

little.bro=ABS/little.bro=ERG wake.up-SEQ.DUR rice=ABS eat-PFV

Little brother, after waking up, ate his meal.

Both intransitive verbs in these examples are of the class which does not allow ergative marking on the S argument, and a perfective form of the proposition *¹kan ¹ca* 'eat a meal' consistently conditions ergative marking of the A argument. The fact that either absolutive or ergative case-marking is acceptable on the overtly expressed argument is therefore not due to differential case-marking, but two different clause linkage structures: one in which the converbial clause precedes the main clause, and one in which it is embedded inside the main clause. If the converbial clause precedes the main clause, the overtly expressed argument *²cyun* is marked for its role in the converbial clause and the coreferential argument is omitted in the main clause:

7.33 *[²cyun=se* *¹kan=Ø* *¹ca-si]* *[Ø]* *³mer-ci*

[little.bro=ERG rice=ABS eat-SEQ] [he=ABS] sleep-PFV

Little brother ate and went to bed.

7.34 *[²cyun=Ø* *¹chiŋ-sima]* *[Ø]* *¹kan=Ø* *¹ca-ci*

[little.bro=ABS wake.up-SEQ.DUR] [he=ERG] rice=ABS eat-PFV

Little brother woke up and ate his meal.

If the converbial clause is embedded in the main clause, *[2]cyun* is marked for its role in the main clause and the coreferential argument is omitted in the converbial clause:

7.35 *[2]cyun = Ø* *[[Ø]* *[1]kan = Ø* *[1]ca-si]* *[3]mer-ci*

little.bro = ABS [[he = ERG] rice = ABS eat-SEQ] sleep-PFV

Little brother, after eating, went to bed.

7.36 *[2]cyun = se* *[[Ø]* *[1]chiŋ-sima]* *[1]kan = Ø* *[1]ca-ci*

little.bro = ERG [[he = ABS] wake.up-SEQ.DUR] rice = ABS eat-PFV

Little brother, after waking up, ate his meal.

While the events in the main and dependent clauses in the above example are conceptually separate enough to clearly constitute two discrete clauses, this is not always the case if the state of affairs of a converbial clause is conceptually integrated into that of the main clause, for instance as manner of action. Consider the following examples:

7.37 *[[2]cyun = Ø* *[2]namsa = i = se* *[4]yar-si]* *[Ø]* *[1]yampu = i* *[1]yu-ci*[103]

[little.bro village = LOC = ABL run-SEQ] [he] Kathmandu = LOC come.down-PFV

Little brother ran away from the village and came to Kathmandu.

[103] Example 7.37 could also be analysed as:

[2]cyun = Ø *[[Ø]* *[2]namsa = i = se* *[4]yar-si]]* *[1]yampu = i* *[1]yu-ci*

little.bro [[he] village = LOC = ABL run-SEQ]] Kathmandu = LOC come.down-PFV

Little brother ran away from the village and came to Kathmandu.

7.38 *²cyun=Ø* *²namsa=i=se* *¹yampu=i* *⁴yar-si* *¹yu-ci*

little.bro=ABS village=LOC=ABL Kathmandu=LOC run-SEQ come.down-PFV

Little brother, on the run from the village, came to Kathmandu.

Example 7.37 appears most likely to be two separate clauses. Even if the S argument is omitted in the main clause through zero anaphora, both the converbial clause and the main clause appear to contain oblique elements which are specific to them. However this is not clear in 7.38, where the converb is expressed immediately before the main verb. In consequence of this, the main verb and converb appear to constitute one complex verbal construction, and there is no clear separation of participants associated with each of the verb lexemes.[104] This would entail that rather than two separate clauses, one with a zero-anaphora argument, the second example is a single clause with its S argument overtly specified and including two oblique noun phrases.

It therefore appears that certain types of converbial clause can undergo a process of incorporation into the main clause, eventually ceasing to be separate clauses. As mentioned in section 7.3, this tendency is most strongly grammaticalized with constructions such as the durative with *²ʈi* 'sit' and the benefactive construction with *¹pin* 'give' (see section 5.4.2).

7.4 Conditional clauses

Tamang conditional clauses are similar to converbial clauses in that their non-finite verbal inflection makes them dependent on the main clause, but with independent case-marking and no pivot-dependent gapping strategies. Expression of participants is affected by the same rules of topicality and anaphora which work across sentences and with converbial clauses. However conditional clauses have a greater degree of independent modality than converbial clauses. Conditional clauses are not declarative in that the propositions they express are irrealis, and these can be simple

[104] It may be possible to maintain two conceptually separate clauses through intonation, but I have not been able to investigate this thoroughly during the period of this research.

(referring to an actual situation) or hypothetical (referring to a situation which is not actually the case, but one which the speaker conceives of for the sake of argument). Therefore, although like converbial clauses they are non-finite, conditional clauses display a greater degree of modal (and consequently temporal) autonomy than converbial clauses.

Conditional clauses all involve the conditional suffix *-(y)e(m)* on the verbal construction containing the predicate. The *(y)* is only inserted if the verb root ends in a vowel eg. *[1]muye(m), [3]pi-ye(m).*[105] There is good reason for supposing that the *-m* which is often (though not always) used at the end of the suffix is the topic marker *=m(i)* (see section 3.5.2). Mazaudon (2003a) proposes so for the corresponding conditional form *-sa(m)* in the dialect of Risiangku, where the final *-m* element may or may not be used. Also in the Indrawati Khola dialect, the fact that *-m* is usually but not always used at the end of the suffix indicates that the conditional is not (yet) fully grammaticalised as *-(y)em*, and it still possible to choose whether one wishes to mark the topicality of the clause explicitly or not.

In simple conditional sentences, the predicate of the conditional clause is either suffixed with *-(y)e(m)* or appears in the perfective immediately followed by the verb *[3]pi* 'say' in the conditional. The meaning is the same. Expressions deriving from the verbs *[3]pi* 'say' and *[2]paŋ* 'say' are used as complementizers in order to subordinate several types of propositions, including conditionals (usually with *[3]pi*) and reported speech (usually with *[2]paŋ* although it is also possible to use *[3]pi*, see section 7.6.3). The grammaticalization of verbs meaning 'say' as complementizers is a common tendency cross-linguistically (see Munro 1982), and in these uses *[3]pi* and *[2]paŋ* are semantically bleached and do not change the semantics of the clause in any way.

[105] This suffix appears to be very localized. Most dialects use the suffix *-sa(-m)* or *-ca(-m)* (the two are cognate and the difference is a matter of dialect variation). Even in Chumti, the highest village in the Indrawati Khola valley, the conditional suffix is *-ca*.

The main clause in a simple conditional sentence contains a normal independent verb. As with other types of clause, topicality and implicatures provide information as to the reference of omitted arguments. Here are two examples:

7.39 *maya=then* *[4]cyap* *[1]ta-yem* *[4]tolo=ki* *[1]tam=Ø* *[2]paŋ-la*
Maya=COM together happen-COND earlier=GEN word=ABS say-FUT
If [I] meet Maya, [I]'ll tell her that stuff from earlier.

7.40 *[2]airak=Ø* *[1]areni* *[2]pi-yem* *[4]ci=Ø* *[2]thuŋ-te*
liquor=ABS COPA.NEG.PFV say-COND beer=ABS drink-INC
If there's no liquor then [we]'ll drink beer.

Hypothetical conditional sentences also use the conditional morpheme but are formed quite differently from simple conditionals. The condition is predicated by a perfect form of the nominalized predicate *-pakila* (see section 3.3.7.4) with the equative copula *[3]hin* as an auxiliary in the conditional, and the consequence has a main verb in the perfect nominalized form (see section 3.5.3). Here are some examples:

7.41 *[1]ŋa=ta* *[2]tha:* *[1]ta-pakila* *[3]hinem* *[3]raŋ=no* *[1]ni-pakila*
I=DAT knowledge happen-PERF COPE.COND self=FOC go-PERF
If I had known [I] would have gone myself.

7.42 *[3]tini=Ø* *[1]phya:-pakila* *[3]hinem* *[4]ʈot=Ø* *[1]kha-pakila*
sun=ABS shine-PERF COPE.COND warmth=ABS come-PERF
If the sun was shining it would be warm (here).

The use of the nominalized predicate with the conditional of the equative copula *³hin* gives the meaning 'if it was the case that X happened': it appears that this complex expression is the only way to express a hypothetical condition. The compulsory use of a nominalized predicate (which is most typically the non-finite component of an auxiliary construction, see section 3.3.7.4) for the hypothetical consequence in the main clause is interesting, as it suggests that the use of a typically non-finite form is associated with an irrealis state of affairs. It also indicates that there is not a clear distinction between nominalized forms as non-finite (for example in auxiliary constructions) and as main verbs (see section 3.5.3 on nominalized forms used as main verbs).

Unlike converbial clauses, which as mentioned in section 7.3.2 have tendencies to coalesce with the main clause, conditional clauses remain conceptually and syntactically separate.

7.5 Adverbial clauses

Tamang possesses many adverbial constructions, which form clauses which are structurally adjuncts to (and therefore dependent on) the main clause. These can express a range of meanings which provide extra information about the state of affairs expressed in the main clause. This information can be about time, manner, or purpose, or to help situate the proposition in the context of the discourse. All of these clauses have independent reference and independent case-marking from the main clause, and no arguments are gapped although they can be omitted according to zero anaphora. Real world knowledge and conversational implicatures play a role in allowing hearers to identify the reference of omitted arguments, for instance the omitted argument in the main clause of example 7.43, being a declarative, is naturally interpreted with 1st person reference. As converbial clauses, adverbial clauses have relative tense (see Comrie 1985), which is anchored to the time reference of the main clause.

Some types of adverbial clause are based on converbial inflections, while some are based on the nominalized form in *-pa*. One type is also based on the inceptive participle in *-te/-i* (see section

3.3.8.4). Adverbial clauses with nominalized predicates in *-pa* are to be expected in Tamang grammar, given the wide use of the nominalizer morpheme: the clause can serve structurally as a noun, which can be followed by case markers and postpositions. The examples with converbial inflections are more interesting: converbial forms usually cannot be followed by another element in the same clause (apart from when they have coalesced into one clause with the main verb and are followed by it), however in some adverbial clauses they can be followed by other elements such as postpositions or adverbializers. These are more unusual from the perspective of the rest of Tamang grammar, and more research is necessary into both the structure and semantics of complex verbal constructions in Tamang.

For the time being, I will confine the discussion of these types of clause to examples with a short discussion of each type. I group the types of clause into those formed from the inceptive participle in *-te/-i*, those formed from converbs, and those formed from the nominalized form in *-pa*. Where appropriate, I will indicate the boundaries of the adverbial clause with square brackets. Some precede the main clause whereas some are embedded in it.

7.5.1 With inceptive participle

'Until …' : *-te ³to:na*

7.43	*[²cyocyo=Ø*	*³a-¹kha-te*	*³to:na]*	*²ci:*	*²ti-la*
	[big.bro=ABS	NEG-come-INC	uptill]	here	sit-FUT
	[I] will stay here until until big brother comes.				

This type of adverbial clause is formed from the intentional mode of the verb *-te/-i*, however in this expression the suffix *-te* is used after all verb stems, even those ending in short vowels. The clause is subordinated by the postposition *³to:na* 'uptill', which provides the important temporal information about the dependent clause vis-à-vis the main clause. As is clear from this example,

reference across the clauses is independent. The fact that the verb in the dependent clause appears to be governed by the postposition *[3]to:na* is interesting as it is further evidence that *-te/-i* is some kind of participle form, however as discussed in sections 3.3.7.5 and 3.3.8.4, its status is complicated.

7.5.2 With converbs

'Since …': *-ma ŋyan-se*

7.44	*[1]ŋa=Ø*	*[2]ci:*	*[1]kha-ma*	*[2]ŋyan=se*	*[3]petle*	*khusi*	*[1]mula*
	I=ABS	here	come-DUR	time=ABL	very	happy	COPA.NPST
	Since coming here I am very happy.						

A clause with *-ma [2]ŋyan=se* is similar in meaning to one with a sequential converb in *-si* (see section 7.3), however it emphasizes that the state of affairs denoted in the main clause has been so from the time of the dependent clause uptill the present. The clause is formed from a durative converb followed by *[2]ŋyan* 'time' which is marked with the ablative case. Although *[2]ŋyan* is a lexical noun, its use in this expression appears to indicate that it is developing towards a more grammatical usage similar to that of what Watters (2002: 136-8) refers to as 'relator nouns'. The fact that the predicate of the adverbial clause is a converb rather than nominalized form indicates that this is quite different from the relativizing constructions which are used for expressing meanings such as 'the time when…' (see section 7.7.1). As the S/A argument of the two clauses, is coreferent in this example, it is possible to analyse the clause either as *[[1]ŋa=Ø [2]ci: [1]kha-ma [2]ŋyan=se] [3]petle khusi [1]mula*, where the argument is overtly expressed in the adverbial clause (which precedes the main clause) and omitted from the main clause, or *[1]ŋa=Ø [[2]ci: [1]kha-ma [2]ŋyan=se] [3]petle khusi [1]mula*, where the overtly expressed argument is in the main clause, and omitted in the adverbial clause which is embedded in the main clause. The fact that this type of clause can either precede or be embedded in the main clause is similar to straight converbial clauses (see section 7.3.1).

‘Without -ing’: *a- -na-le*

7.45 *[1]ŋyina=Ø [1]kan=Ø [3]a-[1]ca-na-le [1]ni [1]to:-pakila*
we.EXCL=ABS rice=ABS NEG-eat-RES-ADV go must-PERF
We had to leave without eating.

This type of clause is formed from the negative form of the resultative converb in *-na*, followed by the adverbializer *-le* (see section 3.4.1). As mentioned in section 7.3.1, the resultative is used instead of the sequential *-si* in order to talk about something which has *not* happened. It appears that by adding the adverbializer this construction simply marks the relevance of the dependent clause for the main clause focusing on the fact that the state of affairs is not completed rather than the temporal sequence. Typically, the S/A arguments of both clauses are coreferent, and generally omitted in one of the clauses. It is possible to analyse the overt expression of the S/A argument as being in the dependent clause or in the main clause (meaning that the dependent clause is embedded).

7.5.3 With nominalized verbs

‘Before -ing’: *-pa ([4]panta) ŋaccaŋ*

7.46 *[[1]mar [1]ni-pa ([4]panta) [4]ŋaccaŋ] [2]a=ki [4]tim=i [1]kha-la*
[below go-NOMZ (than) before] you=GEN house=LOC come-FUT
[I] will come to your house before going down (to Kathmandu).

7.47 *[[1]ŋa=Ø [1]mar [1]ni-pa ([4]panta) [4]ŋaccaŋ] [2]a=ki [2]cyun=Ø*
[I=ABS [below go-NOMZ (than) before] you=GEN little.bro=ABS
[3]to: [1]kha-ci
arrive come-PFV
Before I went down (to Kathmandu), your little brother arrived.

In this type of adverbial clause, a nominalized predicate is followed by the postposition *⁴ŋaccaŋ*, which means 'infront of' and in a temporal sense 'before' (see section 3.4.6). It is possible although not compulsory to use the comparative *⁴panta* - which is borrowed from the Nepali form *bhandā* meaning the same - before *⁴ŋaccaŋ* without affecting the meaning. These forms follow the nominalized dependent clause as they would any other noun (eg. *¹ŋa ⁴panta ⁴ŋaccaŋ* 'infront of me'). It is possible for the S/A arguments of the two clauses to have the same or different reference. If they are coreferential at least one instance will be omitted (in example 7.46 above both are omitted). However if the reference is different, often both will be overtly expressed in order to avoid confusion. The fact that both arguments can be overtly articulated indicates that there is no gapping strategy or pivot in this type of clause, and argument expression and omission are determined by the same principles as those which work in converbial clauses and, for that matter, across sentences.

'As soon as, upon -ing': *-pa-teŋ=no*

7.48	*[⁴tim=i*	*³to:-pa=teŋ=no]*	*³mer*	*¹ni-ci*
	[house=LOC	arrive-NOMZ=COM=FOC]	sleep	go-PFV
	[I] went to bed as soon as [I] got home.			

This type of adverbial clause is similar to the clause with *-pa (⁴panta) ⁴ŋaccaŋ*, being formed of a nominalized predicate followed by typically nominal morphology, although in this instance it is a case marker rather than a postposition. The suffix *=teŋ* does not occur elsewhere, but it appears to be an allomorph of the comitative case marker *=ten*. The coda of the syllable becomes /ŋ/ in order to dissimilate it from the /n/ and the onset of the focus marker *=no*. This construction represents another example of semantic development of a nominal morpheme from spatial ('with') to temporal ('as', 'at the moment when'). It appears likely that the focus marker *=no* was originally used to emphasize the contemporaneity of the states of affairs in the two clauses, but now it understood as a

compulsory part of the construction. Similarly to the construction with *-pa ([4]panta) [4]ŋaccaŋ*, the S/A arguments of both clauses can be either coreferent or different, and the construction follows the same patterns of omission and overt expression of arguments.

'In order to': *-pa le=no*

7.49 *[[2]a=ta [1]tam=Ø [2]paŋ-pa-le=no] [1]kha-la*
[you=DAT word=ABS say-NOMZ-ADV=FOC] come-FUT
[I] will come so that [I] can talk to you.

7.50 *[[2]khala=Ø=no [2]naŋ=i [1]ni [3]a-[1]kham-pa-le=no]*
[who=ABS=FOC inside=LOC go NEG-can-NOMZ-ADV=FOC]
[1]pape [2]mrap=Ø [1]kat-ci
father.ERG door=ABS lock-PFV
Father locked the door so that no one could go in.

This type of adverbial clause expresses a similar meaning to a purpose clause (see section 7.6.2), however it is more versatile than a purpose clause as the S/A argument of the two clauses can be either coreferential or different, whereas with purpose clauses, it must be coreferential and stipulates a gap in the dependent clause. As the examples above show, if the identity of the relevant arguments is known then it is possible to omit them from both clauses under normal principles of topical zero anaphora. If the S/A arguments of the two clauses are different however (and the S/A of the main clause acts so that someone else does or can do something in the dependent clause), then it is likely that both will be overtly expressed. The adverbial clause itself is formed from a nominalized predicate which is followed by the adverbializer suffix *-le* and the focus marker *=no*. The use of the former indicates that the state of affairs in the dependent clause is the effect of, or a characteristic of the state of affairs in the main clause, in a similar manner in which a normal adverb might

characterize the main verb. The suffix *-le* can be used on nominals (eg. *⁴paŋ-le* (vigour-ADV) 'vigourously'), and its use in the nominalized predicate here reflects the latter's syntactic status as a noun in the higher clause. The focus marker *=no* emphasizes that the state of affairs in the adverbial clause is related to that of the main clause, but it appears that it has now developed to be a compulsory part of the construction.

Temporal and locational backgrounding ('at the time when…', 'at the place where…') can also be expressed using nominalized dependent clauses, but these are more precisely a type of relative construction. I will therefore discuss them in more detail in section 7.7 on relativization.

7.6 Complement clauses

We can distinguish two major types of complement clause in Tamang: those which are governed by matrix verbs, and those which can replace an argument in the main clause with no restriction regarding the predicate.

The former type includes non-finite and finite complement clauses. These can be referred to as 'governed complement clauses' by virtue of the fact that they are governed by one of a restricted class of matrix verbs. Non-finite governed complements are headed by a verb nominalized with the morpheme *-pa*. The pivot argument of the clause is compulsorily gapped according to the lexical specifications of the matrix predicate (which also includes gapping of a non-pivot argument in the case of S to P complements, see section 7.6.2): they are therefore a type of control construction (see Kroeger 2004: chapter 5). Non-finite complement constructions governed by matrix verbs are distinguished from auxiliary, serial and modal constructions by the fact that they have two distinguishable sets of predicate frames (one governed by the matrix verb and one by the complement verb) while the latter have only one which is governed by the whole complex verbal construction. Governed finite clauses can have any main verbal inflection, however they are usually

subordinated by complementizers *[3]pisima/[3]pisi* or *[2]paŋsima/[2]paŋsi* (which all derive from converbial forms *[3]pi-sima/[3]pi-si* (say-SEQ.DUR/say-SEQ) 'having said') or *ki* 'that' (see section 7.6.3).

The latter type is also predicated by a verb nominalized with *-pa*. It does not have any gapped arguments, and although it is governed by the main clause predicate as any argument NP is, the predicate does not control gapping or cause any changes to the internal structure of the complement clause itself. I refer to this type as 'non-gapped clausal complements' (see section 7.6.4). The status of non-gapped clausal complements as arguments in the main clause is similar to that of headless relative clauses (see section 7.7.2), however the two types differ in terms of their internal structure as the latter contains a compulsory gapped argument while the former does not.

The three types of complement clause have different features in common. Non-finite governed complements and non-gapped complements are predicated by dependent verbal inflections, while finite governed complements have finite verbs and would be fully capable of standing as main clauses if they were not subordinated by a complementizer. On the other hand, finite governed complements share with non-gapped complements the fact that all arguments can be and usually are expressed, and do not need to be corefential with participants in the main clause, while non-finite governed complements contain a gapped argument which is always coreferential with one argument of the main clause. In all types of complement clause, topical arguments which are not compulsorily gapped can generally be omitted according to the usual principles of zero anaphora. It is worth mentioning that finite complement clauses play an important role in Tamang grammar as they are used not only for reporting speech, but also for thoughts, intentions, hopes and desires of the referent of the main clause, including those which involve other people.

7.6.1 Structural integration and the binding hierarchy of matrix verbs

The degree of independence of complement clauses which are governed by a matrix verb appears generally to reflect the tendencies of the binding hierarchy proposed by Givon (1980), however

there are also some interesting ways in which Tamang does not conform to it. The binding hierarchy proposes that the greater the likelihood of success of completing the action in the complement clause that is inherent in the semantics of the matrix verb, the greater tendency exists to structural integration of the complement into the main verb. The highest end of the hierarchy involves verbs which imply that the proposition of the complement clause takes place which can relate to self-inducement (eg. *begin, finish*) or manipulation of another to perform the task (eg. *force, make*), while lower down are respectively matrix predicates indicating attempts to carry out the proposition (eg. *try, intend*), emotive views with regard to the proposition (*eg. hope*), strong epistemic commitment to the proposition (eg. *know, believe*) and finally weak epistemic commitment (eg. *say*) (see Givon 1980: 369). These types of propositions are not all likely to be covered by complement clauses, and in many languages propositions at the highest end of the hierarchy (indicating the greatest likelihood of success) are expressed by lexicalized forms (eg. *cook, bring*) and serial constructions.[106]

Tamang indeed possesses lexicalized forms (eg. *[1]yo* 'cook', *[1]phle:* 'boil') to express some propositions highest on the hierarchy (ie. those with near guaranteed success); and the heterogeneous category of complement constructions appears to reflect the general cline of the binding hierarchy, where non-finite (nominalized) clauses are used for propositions high up the hierarchy (eg. *[1]la* 'do, (begin)', *[1]kyal* 'stop') and fully finite clauses for those low on the hierarchy (eg. *[2]paŋ* 'say', *[4]man* 'think, want'). In the middle positions are nominalized complements marked with either the locative or dative case (indicating a less closely integrated relationship between the complement and matrix predicate than those predicates which control a nominalized complement with no overt case-marking) which are used with predicates which involve either the main clause referent's attitude towards a proposition (eg. *[2]loŋ* 'fear'), manipulation of another participant to achieve it (eg. *[2]ŋyot* 'ask'), or a significant role of the P argument of the complement clause with regard to performing the task (eg. *[3]tan* 'be too much'). These are followed by expressions involving

[106] And the section of the specrum which relates to manipulation relates to various types of causatives (see section 5.5).

the intentional modal in *-te/-i* (whose status regarding finiteness is complex) which is used for complements whose S/A is coreferent with the S argument of the predicate *[4]man* 'want' in the main clause, before full finite complements begin for the lower end of the hierarchy. However, an apparent anomaly is the fact that purpose clauses controlled by main verbs *[1]ni*, *[1]kha* or *[1]yu* must compulsorily be marked with either the locative or dative case. In terms of semantics, purpose clauses would appear to involve a relatively high likelihood of success of carrying out the state of affairs in the second verb, which is reflected by the fact that purpose propositions can alternatively be expressed as serial constructions as well as complement clauses (see section 7.6.2). Perhaps the compulsory marking of the complements in purpose complement clauses can be explained by the fact that if used without phrasal complements, all the motion verbs are intransitive, and therefore can only take oblique participants (most usually a goal) apart from their S argument (see section 5.3.2). I will discuss case-marking in the different complement clauses in section 7.6.2 below.

The coreference (or otherwise) of the S or A argument also appears to have some significance in determining the structure of complement constructions. Firstly, it is noticeable that only the 'highest' set of matrix predicates on the hierarchy (ie. those involving the highest chance of success, which all operate on a pivot of S/A in the main clause to S/A in the complement clause) are expressed as nominalized clauses with no overt case-marking, while all those involving manipulation of another participant to perform the task involve some form of case-marking on the nominalized predicate.[107] Secondly, a fully different structure (a subordinated optative clause) is used for expressing desire when the main clause referent wishes someone else to perform a task rather than performing it him/herself (in which case the intentional modal is used). The different types of complement clauses in Tamang which are governed by matrix verbs are shown in table 7.2:

[107] As discussed in section 5.5, causative constructions are monoclausal in Tamang, and therefore do not enter into this classification.

Type of complement		S/A of main clause coreferential with S/A of complement	S/A of main clause not coreferential with S/A of complement
nominalized: zero case-marking		S/A to S/A matrix: eg. *[1]me:* 'try', *[1]la* 'do, begin', *[3]cin* 'finish', *[1]kyal* 'stop'	
nominalized: overt case-marking	locative *=i*	S to S/A matrix: eg. *[2]loŋ* 'fear', *aʈ [1]la* 'dare'	P to S/A matrix: eg. *[4]pit* 'send'
	locative *=i* or dative *=ta*	purpose clauses (S to S/A): eg. *[1]ni* 'go', *[1]kha* 'come', *[1]yu* 'come down'	P to S/A matrix: eg. *[2]ŋyot* 'ask'
	dative *=ta*		P to S/A matrix: eg. *[1]lop* 'teach' S to P matrix: eg. *[3]tan* 'be too much', non-verbal predicates
finite: intentional		*[4]man* 'want', (auxiliary with *[1]la* 'do, begin')	
finite: optative		*as [1]la* 'hope'	*[4]man* 'want', *as [1]la* 'hope'
finite: declarative (optional complementizer)		eg. *[2]paŋ* 'say', *[4]man* 'think', *[2]tha: [1]mu* 'know', *biswas [1]la* 'believe'	eg. *[2]paŋ* 'say', *[4]man* 'think', *[2]tha: [1]mu* 'know', *biswas [1]la* 'believe'

Table 7.2: Types of complement clause

Table 7.2 is organized from the most closely integrated type of complement (ie. nominalized complement with no case-marking) to the last closely integrated (a finite clause). The distinction between non-finite complements which are overtly marked for case and those which are not raises some interesting questions with regard to the degree of similarity between non-finite complements and nouns. In terms of the structural oppositions evident in a case paradigm, we might propose that all nominalized complements governed by a matrix verb which are not overtly marked with locative or dative case are absolutive (which has no overt case morpheme) - although I prefer to consider complements with no overt case-marking simply as a tight structural relationship between the complement and matrix verb. As mentioned in section 5.6.1, although some verbs can only govern clausal complements and not P arguments or nominal complements, some can govern either a (non-S/A) nominal element or a verbal complement clause. We can note certain relationships between the case-marking of complement clauses and of nouns, for instance the fact that certain control verbs (eg. *[2]loŋ, [1]ni, [1]kha, [1]yu*) which only take oblique nominal complements also take oblique clausal complements, and certain verbs which take direct nominal arguments (ie. can take P arguments in

the absolutive case, eg. *[l]kyal* 'leave') also take a zero-marked clausal complement. As mentioned above, control verbs which govern overt case-marking on their complements entail a less direct relationship between the matrix verb and the complement than those which have no overt marking: this correlation between overt case-marking and relative obliqueness is analogous to the case-marking of nominal arguments, where the most direct relationships (the three direct argument types S, A and P) can have zero case-marking, whereas more oblique roles (eg. goal, source etc.) are overtly marked.

7.6.2 Non-finite clausal complements of matrix verbs (control clauses)

Non-finite complement clauses contain a predicate nominalized with the suffix *-pa*. They are governed by a matrix predicate (see section 5.6.1), which specify grammatical information about the pivot relationship between the main clause and complement clause. The fact that all predicates which take non-finite clausal complements select a range of appropriate arguments from their participant frames indicates that all are control predicates (see Kroeger 2004: 104-7). Tamang does not appear to have raising matrix predicates (see Kroeger 2004: 120-7). In this regard, Tamang supports LaPolla's (1993: 775) observation that raising predicates appear to be very uncommon in languages with strong tendencies to ergative alignment in the main clause.

There are three different pivot patterns which, as mentioned above, are lexically determined by the matrix predicate. These are:

i) S/A in the main clause coreferential with S/A in the complement clause (I call these 'S/A to S/A')
ii) P in the main clause coreferential with S/A in the complement clause ('P to S/A')
iii) S in the main clause to P in the complement clause ('S to P')

All of these patterns control a compulsory gapping of the pivot argument in the dependent clause, and the S to P type requires both the pivot argument (P) and the non-pivot argument (A) of the

complement clause to be gapped. In S/A to S/A, and P to S/A complement clauses, non-pivot arguments may also be left unexpressed, although this is due to zero anaphora (as in main, converbial clauses etc.) rather than gapping. Although a greater number of control constructions (types (i) and (ii)) have an S/A pivot in the complement clause, existence of a P pivot in type (iii) complement clauses indicates that in the category of control clauses as a whole, the S/A relation in the dependent clause is not exclusively privileged. This constitutes another argument against the existence of the traditional category of subject (see Keenan 1976) in Tamang.

There are also restrictions in control clauses on certain types of participant: dative-marked complements of inverse predicates such as *[1]to:* 'need' and *[3]yo:* 'be enough' (see section 5.3.3) are not eligible for pivot status in a complement clause. With such clauses, only the more patient-like S argument can hold this status. This appears to stand as further evidence that the direct argument in inverse constructions is the patient-like element. A more agent-like participant such as an experiencer, if expressed with such verbs, is an oblique element and therefore blocked from pivot status.

With types (i) and (ii), due to the gapping of the S/A argument in the complement clause the question of case-marking in that clause relates to non-S/A arguments (ie. P in transitive clauses, and G and T in ditransitive clauses). These patterns are the same as in main clause (ie. P arguments are often marked with patientive *=ta* if they are human and highly affected, G arguments are regularly marked with dative *=ta* and T arguments are marked with absolutive *=Ø*). As discussed in section 7.6.1, the complement clause itself may also carry a nominal case marker, which reflects the degree of structural integration (generally correlating with semantic integration) between the complement and the matrix predicate. Type (iii) has no case-marking in the complement clause as both arguments are compulsorily gapped.

As mentioned in section 7.6.1, some control constructions have no overt case-marking on the complement clause, while others are marked with either the dative or locative case. It appears that only S/A to S/A pivots (type (i)) can have no marking on the complement, and only some of these behave in this way (see table 7.2). The remainder of type (i), and all of types (ii) and (iii) have compulsory marking on their complement. This no doubt reflects the less intimate nature of the relationship between the two states of affairs in these clauses, and the lower likelihood of success of performing the state of affairs in the complement clause. I will discuss instances of compulsory dative or locative marking, as well as instances where either dative or locative can be used. In terms of a case paradigm, nominalized complements with no overt case-marking could be analysed as standing in the absolutive case, *=Ø*. However, I prefer to regard no marking in this case as simply a tight structural relation between the control predicate and its complement.

Non-finite complements are not rooted to a particular time reference, and follow the time reference of their control verb. In terms of order, while converbial clauses can stand either before a main clause or embedded in the main clause (see section 7.3.2), non-finite complement clauses are generally embedded in the main clause, in the focal position before the main verb, which is the unmarked position for arguments in a simple transitive clause.

I will look at the three types of lexically-controlled complement constructions in turn, beginning with S/A to S/A pivots. The following examples show the embedded position of the complement clauses in the main clause, and the pivot argument which is gapped.

7.51 *[1]ŋa=Ø [[Ø] hindi [1]tam=Ø [1]lop-pa] [1]me:-pano [1]mula*

I=ABS [[I] Hindi word=ABS learn-NOMZ] try-PROG COPA.NPST

I am trying to learn Hindi.

7.52 *[1]ŋye [[Ø] [2]mrap=Ø [2]thuŋ-pa] [2]mret-ci*

I.ERG [[I] door=ABS close-NOMZ] forget-PFV

I forgot to close the door!

7.53 *[1]ŋa=Ø [[Ø] [4]tolo [1]kha-pa] [2]mret-ci*

I=ABS [[I] before come-NOMZ] forget-PFV

I forgot to come earlier.

7.54 *[3]kal-pa [2]la=Ø [2]ŋyan=se [1]ŋye [[Ø] surti=Ø [2]thuŋ-pa] [1]kyal-ci*

pass-NOMZ month=ABS time=ABL I.ERG [[I] cigarette=ABS drink-NOMZ] throw-PFV

I quit smoking (since) last month.

In many instances where the complement clause carries case-marking the marker appears to be fixed by the matrix predicate, but in others it appears that combination of the semantics of the matrix and complement predicates might play a role. For instance, some matrix verbs controlling S/A to S/A pivots (eg. motion verbs with purpose clauses) allow either *=i* or *=ta* on their nominalized complement while others only allow one or the other. It is worth noting that in the construction involving the verb *[1]la* 'do' with a non-finite complement, which means 'to start ...ing (habitually)',[108] it is compulsory to use the focus marker *=no* after the complement, as in the following example:[109]

[108] There is another construction also involving *[1]la* with a predicate in the inceptive participle *-te/-i*, which could (very) roughly be translated into English as 'started -ing'. This construction focuses on the inception of an action and is best considered an auxiliary construction. It is discussed in more detail in section 3.3.7.5.

[109] The combination of the nominalizer and focus morphemes *-pa=no* in this construction is formally identical to the progressive morpheme *-pano* (see section 3.3.2). It may infact be the progressive morpheme, however if so it is the only complement construction involving the progressive form rather than plain nominalized form.

7.55 *[3]kal-pa [2]la=Ø [2]ŋyan=se [1]ŋye [[Ø] surti=Ø [2]thuŋ-pa=no] [1]la-ci*

pass-NOMZ month=ABS time=ABL I.ERG [[I] cig.=ABS drink-NOMZ=FOC] do-PFV

(Since) last month I started smoking.

Some examples of non-finite complements marked with the locative case are as follows:

7.56 *[3]cat-pakal=Ø [[Ø] plen=Ø [1]cya:-pa]=i [4]yar-ci*

small-PL=ABS [[they] plane=ABS watch-NOMZ]=LOC run-PFV

The children ran to look at the plane.

7.57 *[1]ŋa=Ø [[Ø] [3]muntu=Ø [4]pra-pa]=i [2]loŋ-pa*

I=ABS [[I] night=ABS walk-NOMZ]=LOC fear-NOMZ

I'm afraid to walk at night.

7.58 *[1]ŋa=Ø [[Ø] [4]ki:=[1]e=no [1]ni-pa]=i aʈ [3]a-[1]la-ni*

I=ABS [[I] one=only=FOC go-NOMZ]=LOC courage NEG-do-PFV.NEG

I didn't dare to go alone.

The fact that *[2]loŋ* 'be afraid' prefers a complement marked with *=i* as opposed to *=ta* is interesting, as when this verb takes a nominal complement, it is marked with *=ta* (see section 5.3.2). The predicate *aʈ [1]la* 'dare' cannot take a nominal second argument and can only take a verbal complement. Certain verbs and verbal expressions mark their complement with the dative case *=ta*. For example:

7.59 *[1]ŋa=Ø [[Ø] [2]a=then [4]cyap [1]ta-pa]=ta [4]pran-tano [1]mula*

I=ABS [[I] you=COM together happen-NOMZ]=DAT wait-PROG COPA.NPST

I am waiting to meet you.

In some cases, it appears that complement verb can be marked in either the locative or the dative case. These include 'classic' purpose clauses with the verbs *[1]ni* 'go', *[1]kha* 'come' and *[1]yu* 'come down'. For example:

7.60 *[3]ro=Ø [[Ø] [4]kyat [3]so-pa]=i /=ta [1]yampu=i [1]ni-ci*

friend=ABS [[f.] work make-NOMZ]=LOC/DAT Kathmandu=LOC go-PFV

He/she went to Kathmandu to work.

7.61 *[2]cyocyo=Ø [[Ø] [1]kan=Ø [1]ca-pa]=i /=ta [1]kha-ci*

big.bro=ABS [[b.b] rice=ABS eat-NOMZ]=LOC/=DAT come-PFV

Big brother came to eat.

It appears that there are no P to S/A predicates which have zero marking on the complement clause. This is in keeping of the relatively weak semantic integration of the states of affairs in the main and complement clauses in propositions where the referent of the main clause manipulates another participant to carry out the action in the second clause, as opposed to those where the referent carries out the action him/herself. P to S/A complement constructions mark the complement either with dative:

7.62 *[1]ŋye [2]cyun=ta [[Ø] [2]puli=Ø [4]rap-pa]=ta [1]lop-ci*

I.ERG little.bro=PAT [[l.b] whistle=ABS play-NOMZ]=DAT learn-PFV

I taught little brother ['l.b' in gloss] to play the whistle.

Or with locative:

7.63 *[1]ŋye [2]cyun=ta [[Ø] [3]me:me=ta [4]cyap [1]ta-pa]=i [4]pit-ci*

I.ERG l.bro=PAT [[l.b] grandpa=PAT together become-NOMZ]=LOC send-PFV

I sent little brother to meet grandpa.

7.64 *[2]mam=ta [1]ni-i [3]a-[4]man-ta [1]mupa [3]pileno [1]ŋye*

granny=PAT go-INC NEG-want-NOMZ COPA.NOMZ but I.ERG

[[Ø] [1]ni-pa]=ta [2]ŋyan-na [1]la-ci

[[granny] go-NOMZ]=DAT hear-RES do-PFV

Granny didn't want to go but I persuaded her to go.

There are also some which permit either dative or locative marking. For example:

7.65 *[1]ŋye rames=ta [[Ø] citwan=i [4]cyap [1]ni-pa]=i /=ta [4]ŋyot-ci*

I.ERG Ramesh=PAT [[R.] Chitwan=LOC together go-NOMZ]=LOC/=DAT call-PFV

I invited Ramesh to go with me to Chitwan.

In my current understanding of matrix predicates which allow either dative or locative case-marking on the complement, they appear to be above all stylistic choices, and there does not seem to be a large difference in meaning. Disentangling the precise difference would require further research.

Type (iii) S to P control constructions differ from types (i) and (ii) in that no arguments can be expressed in the complement clause, as both are compulsorily gapped. These constructions are generally used to highlight a situation in which a certain property of an entity affects the likelihood of the successfully carrying out an action upon it. As such, the entity, which is (at least potentially) a semantic patient, is pragmatically prominent. S to P control constructions reflect the topicality of such referents by placing them in the topical position as S argument of the matrix clause, while the S to P pivot relation ensures that they are understood as the P argument of the complement clause. The fact that the pivot is gapped in the complement clause is typical of all complement constructions, while the fact that a hypothetical A argument which would carry out the relevant action upon the pivot is also gapped no doubt reflects the fact that the reference of this role is not important in the semantics of the proposition, in which it is the P argument that is important. The construction occurs with both non-verbal and verbal predicates, for example:

7.66 *[2]cu [4]cola = Ø [2]pi:-pa = ta sacilo [1]mula*
this bag = ABS carry-NOMZ = DAT easy COPA.NPST
This bag is easy to carry.

7.67 *[2]cu [1]kan = Ø [3]camma = no [1]ca-pa = ta [3]tan-ci*
this rice = ABS all = FOC eat-NOMZ = DAT be.too.much-PFV
This food is too much to eat.

It is also quite possible in Tamang for nominalized propositions to serve as nouns at a higher clause level. If the nominalized verb in example 7.66 was not marked with *= ta*, the clause could be analysed as a non-gapped clausal complement (see section 7.6.4) standing as S argument of a non-verbal predicate in the absolutive case:

7.68 *[²cu ⁴cola=Ø ²pi:-pa]=Ø sacilo ¹mula*

[this bag=ABS carry-NOMZ]=ABS easy COPA.NPST

This bag is easy to carry.

However, the dative marking on the nominalized verbs in examples 7.66 and 7.67 indicates that they are complements of the main clause predicate rather than arguments. It follows from this that the NP *²cu ⁴cola* is an argument of the main clause. We must also propose two gapped arguments in the complement clause: both the P argument, which is part of the main clause and cannot be repeated in the dependent clause, and the A argument, which can also not be expressed. Under this analysis, the two examples are understood as follows:

7.69 *²cu ⁴cola=Ø [[Ø] [Ø] ²pi:-pa]=ta sacilo ¹mula*

this bag=ABS [[A] [P] carry-NOMZ]=DAT easy COPA.NPST

This bag is easy to carry.

7.70 *²cu ¹kan=Ø [[Ø] [Ø] ³camma=no ¹ca-pa]=ta ³tan-ci*

this rice=ABS [[A] [P] all=FOC eat-NOMZ]=DAT be.too.much-PFV

This food is too much to eat.

The analysis of these structures as control constructions rather than object raising constructions (see Kroeger 2004: 118-9) is justified by the fact they the matrix predicate restricts its S arguments to those which are semantically appropriate, while raising constructions are semantically unrestricted. As mentioned earlier, these constructions represent the only kind of clausal complement construction in which the P argument of the complement clause is the pivot, while the other types of non-finite complements work on an S/A pivot in the complement clause. The lack of a standard pattern indicates that despite Tamang's tendencies to ergative alignment in the main clause, cross-clausal

relations do not work on a consistently ergative pivot. Relations between main and complement clauses are not determined by the priveleged syntactic status of arguments, but rather are lexically specified by every indivual matrix predicate. Relativization strategies, on the other hand, do show evidence of a preference for a P pivot. I will look at these in section 7.7.

7.6.3 Finite clausal complements of matrix verbs

Finite clausal complements in Tamang are headed by verbs which - if they were not subordinated to a higher clause - could allow them to stand as free-standing utterances (although this assertion is complicated by the fact that a number of primarily dependent verbal forms, most importantly nominalized forms, can also predicate free standing utterances - see section 3.5.3). Consequently, case-marking follows identical patterns as in a main clause. Indirect speech in Tamang is always reported as if it was direct, although it is possible (although not compulsory) for the speaker to mark it explicitly as a dependent clause by using a complementizer. Therefore a reported clause is delivered as it would be spoken by the one who articulated it.[110] The avoidance of indirect and preference for direct reported speech is a common feature of languages in the region, and is evident in, for example, Nepali (see Riccardi 2003: 577-8). This strategy is also used for expressing thoughts (see 7.72 below).

I will consider the complementizers *[3]pisima/[3]pisi* and *[2]paŋsima/[2]paŋsi* first as these are the more common ones. They are also likely to be older in the language than the particle *ki*, which appears to have been borrowed in a number of Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalaya from Nepali. The following example can be expressed with or without *[2]paŋsi*, in much the same way that a finite complement can be but does not have to be introduced by *that* in English:

[110] There is also a reported speech marker *[1]ro* which indicates that the material articulated in an utterance is second hand (see section 3.3.6.4). This marker can also be used for reporting speech.

7.71 *[1]ŋa=ta* *[[2]arku* *[2]satta=i* *[1]kho]* *([3]paŋsi)* *[2]paŋ-ci*

I=DAT [other week=LOC come.HORT] (COMP) say-PFV

[He] told me to come next week.

[Literally: '[He] told me "come next week".']

It is important to remember that the usage of *[3]pisima*, *[2]paŋsima* etc. as complementizers is structurally different from their use as lexical verbs. In example 7.72, *[2]pi-sima* occurs in its lexical usage rather than its grammaticalized role as a complementizer. There is in fact no complementizer in the following example. In finite complement clauses such as these, the perspective with regard to person is that of the participant whose speech or thoughts are being reported. This is why in example 7.72 the use of 1st person refers to the 3rd person participant in the main clause whose thoughts are being reported.

7.72 *[[1]ŋa=ta* *phaida=Ø* *[1]ta-pa]* *[3]pi-sima* *[3]camma=no*

[I=DAT benefit=ABS happen-NOMZ] say-SEQ.DUR all=FOC

[1]ʈaŋka=Ø *[1]pin-ci*

money=ABS give-PFV

Thinking he would get a benefit from it, he gave all his money (for investment).

[Literally: 'Having thought "I will get a benefit", he gave all his money.']

Finite clausal complement structures are also used for expressing hopes and desires. If the S/A argument in the (finite) complement clause is different from that of the main clause (ie. the participant expresses his/her hope), the verb of the complement clause is generally optative (see section 3.3.4.2). Unlike in main clauses where optatives must have 3rd person S/A arguments, in finite complement clauses the S/A argument of an optative predicate can be 1st, 2nd or 3rd person. For example:

7.73 *[²yoːna ¹kha-kai] ²paŋsima as ¹mula*

[quickly come-OPT] COMP hope COPA.NPST

[I] hope [he] comes quickly.

[Literally: ‘ “May he come quickly” [I] have hope.’]

7.74 *[²a=se ²namsa=i ⁴tim=Ø ³so-kai] ³pisima ⁴man-ta ¹mula*

[you=ERG village=LOC house=ABS make-OPT] COMP want-NOMZ COPA.NPST

[I] want you to build a house in the village.

[Literally: ‘ “That you may build a house in the village” [I] want.’]

Optative clauses subordinated by *³pisima/²paŋsima* appear to display certain differences with regard to reference vis-à-vis indirect speech. While (as mentioned above) finite complements reporting speech are always interpreted from the perspective of the participant who articulated them, it appears that this is not always the case with subordinated optative clauses, especially if they involve the speaker of the whole utterance. For example:

7.75 *[¹ŋa=Ø ²tai=Ø ¹la-kai] ²paŋsima ⁴man-ta ²a=se?*

[I=ABS what=ABS do-OPT] COMP think-NOMZ you=ERG?

What do you want me to do?

7.76 *[¹ŋa=Ø ¹si-kai] ³pisima ²ut=se ⁴man-ta*[111]

[I=ABS die-OPT] COMP that=ERG think-NOMZ

He wishes I was dead.

[111] Note that *⁴man* ‘think, want’ appears to be the only intransitive verb whose S argument can be either absolutive, ergative or patientive (see section 5.2.1).

In both examples, the perspective of the optative clause is that of the speaker him/herself. It seems possible that speaker's own emotional involvement in the utterance causes the perspective of the subordinated clause to gravitate to him/herself. This violation of the general principles governing reference in Tamang raises interesting questions about reference and anaphora across clauses, which require further research.

The other complementizer which can subordinate finite clauses is *ki*, which appears to be borrowed from Nepali, and is likely to have originated ultimately from Persian. *ki* occurs before rather than after the complement clause, and its use is compulsory rather than optional. This creates a clearer separation between the main and complement clauses than subordination with *[3]pisima/[2]paŋsima*, where it is not always clear where the complement clause begins, apart from inference from context (see examples 7.71 and 7.72).

7.77	*[1]ame*	*[2]paŋ-ci*	*ki*	*[[2]eː=Ø*	*[4]tim=i*	*[1]ni*	*[1]toː-ci]*
	mother.ERG	say-PFV	that	[you=ABS	house=LOC	go	must-PFV]
	Mother said that you have to go home.						

7.78	*ram=se*	*[2]paŋ-ci*	*ki*	*[[2]namsyo*	*[1]yampu=i*	*[1]ni-la]*
	Ram=ERG	say-PFV	that	[tomorrow	Kathmandu=LOC	go-FUT]
	Ram said that he'll go to Kathmandu tomorrow.					

7.79	*[1]ŋa=ta*	*[4]man-ta*	*[1]mula*	*ki*	*[[3]ro=ki*	*[1]mriŋ=Ø*	*[4]yar-ci]*
	I=PAT	think-NOMZ	COPA.NPST	that	[he=GEN	wife=ABS	run-PFV]
	I think his wife ran away.						

It also appears that declarative clauses subordinated by *ki* (and following the main verb of speaking, thinking etc.) can more easily gravitate towards the perspective of the current speech situation than

those subordinated by *[3]pisima*, which precede the main verb. In this way, utterances involving complements with *ki* resemble more closely utterances with the reported speech marker *[2]ro*, which indicates second-hand information but conveys it from the perspective of the current speech situation. *ki*, as *[3]pisima*, can also be used for expressing hope and wishes, for example:

7.80	*[1]ŋa=ta*	*[4]man-ci*	*ki*	*[milan=Ø*	*[2]tini*	*[1]kha-kai]*
	I=PAT	want-PFV	that	[Milan=ABS	today	come-OPT]
	I want Milan to come today.					

7.6.4 Non-gapped clausal complements

Nominal forms derived from verbal lexemes with the nominalizer *-pa* have certain properties of nouns (see section 3.2.1): for instance they can take case markers, and can be possessed. For example:

7.81	*[2]ut=ki*	*[2]sya-pa=se*	*[1]ŋa=ta*	*[2]ŋyetta=Ø*	*[1]kha-pa*
	that=GEN	dance-NOMZ=ABL	I=DAT	laughter=ABS	come-NOMZ
	His dancing makes me laugh.				

7.82	*[3]cat-pakal=ki*	*[1]ha:-pa=Ø*	*[3]a-[1]taŋ-pa*	*[1]ŋa=ta*
	small-PL=GEN	cry-NOMZ=ABS	NEG-please-NOMZ	I=DAT
	I don't like the children's crying.			

However, some nominalized verbal forms also retain certain properties of verbs. The forms *[2]sya-pa* and *[1]ha:-pa* in examples 7.81 and 7.82 appear highly nominal as they are heads of a possessive noun phrase, and they appear to lack arguments, as the meaning appears to be an action nominalization ie. a state of affairs in the abstract, which is only attributed to a particular person by means of a possessive. However an alternative analysis might be that this kind of construction counts as a

dependent clause, with a structure which blocks the case-marking patterns which are used in the main clause and specifies that the A/S argument (S argument in both examples) must be genitive. Similar restrictions exist in English and the Indo-Aryan languages Hindi and Maithili (see Bickel and Yadava 2000), and appear common cross-linguistically (see Foley and Van Valin 1984: 277-8).

However, Tamang does not have such case restrictions for nominalized clauses, and there are two types of nominalized clause functioning as arguments at the higher clause level which use the same case morphemes as main clauses. These are what I refer to as 'non-gapped clausal complements' (discussed in this section), and 'headless relative clauses' (see section 7.7.2). There is an important structural difference between these two types of clause: non-gapped clausal complements do not have any compulsory gapping of arguments, while headless relative clauses include a compulsory gap for the relativized element in the same manner as full relative clauses (see section 7.7.1).[112] And although the predicate of both types of clause is inflected with the same nominalizer morpheme *-pa*, it appears that non-gapped clausal complements are action nominalizations (ie. abstract expressions of the state of affairs of the predicate) while headless relative clauses are argument nominalizations and refer to an entity which is associated with the state of affairs (as patient, agent etc.). Genetti et al. (2008) draw attention to the distinction bewteen nominalized clauses involving a gapped argument and those without a gapped argument across a number of Tibeto-Burman languages, and it appears that similar strategies are widely used in the family. It therefore appears that the possessed nominalized forms in examples 7.81 and 7.82 are distinct from headless relative clauses and non-gapped clausal complements, both of which have similar case-marking to a main clause. It might even be appropriate to consider the forms *[2]sya-pa* and *[1]ha:-pa* in the examples as fully lexicalized nouns, ie. *[2]syapa, [1]ha:pa*.

[112] The difference in Tamang between canonical relative clauses and headless relative clauses is that the former serves as an adnominal modifier to the relativized element (ie. the head noun, see section 7.7.1), while the latter stands as the head noun in its own right (see section 7.7.2).

As mentioned above, non-gapped clausal complements stand as arguments at the higher clause level. As such, the whole complement clause is case-marked for its role in the main clause: most commonly its role is akin to an S argument or a P argument. Unlike complement clauses which are governed by matrix verbs, there is no need for a certain argument of a non-gapped complement clause to be coreferential with an argument in the main clause. Non-gapped complement clauses use the same case markers as main clauses, although the ergative marking of A arguments in the complement clause is more developed than in main clauses: while in the latter it is influenced by various semantic factors (see section 6.1.2), in the former it is compulsory and can therefore be considered syntacticized. In the following example, the clausal complement serves as the S argument of an inverse clause:

7.83 *[²ut=se ²uraŋ ¹la-pa]=Ø ¹ŋa=ta ʈhik ³a-²ŋam-pa*
[that=ERG like.that do-NOMZ]=ABS I=DAT okay NEG-seem-NOMZ
I don't like it that he does that.

Clausal complements can be used in the place of P arguments for verbs of perception such as *¹mraŋ* 'see', *¹cya:* 'watch, look at', *¹the:* 'hear' and *²ŋyan* 'listen'. For example:

7.84 *¹ŋyine [³tini=Ø ¹mruppa]=Ø ¹cya:-ci*
we.EXCL.ERG [sun=ABS set-NOMZ]=ABS watch-PFV
We watched the sun setting.

7.85 *[¹niki=Ø ²ŋya-pa]=Ø ¹the:-ci*
[dog=ABS make.noise-NOMZ]=ABS hear-PFV
[He/she] heard the dog barking.

7.86 *[som = se* *[1]siŋ = Ø* *[2]thaː-pa] = Ø* *[1]mraŋ-ci* *[1]ro*

[Som = ERG wood = ABS cut-NOMZ] = ABS see-PFV REP

[He says he] saw Som cutting wood.

The fact that the complement is always absolutive reflects its semantic difference from a nominal P argument. This is interesting, as if the proposition was expressed simply as one participant perceiving another with a simple transitive clause, a human P argument would often be marked with the patientive case. However, the fact that this participant is incorporated into a clausal complement of the verb of perception as an S/A argument entails that it is removed from the case-marking patterns of the main clause.

Non-gapped clausal complements can appear very similar to relative clauses - on the surface level it appears that only word order differentiates them, although this is because the gapped element of the relative clause is not overt. We can see the difference between the two from the following examples: example 7.87 contains a gap in the dependent clause while example 7.88 does not. Furthermore, the element which is case-marked in the main clause is the relativized head noun in example 7.87, while in example 7.88 it is the complement clause itself.

7.87 *[[4]tim* *[1]phe = i = se* *[Ø]* *[1]phyaŋ-pa]* *[1]neːme* *[4]hen = Ø* *[1]mraŋ-ci?*

[house above = LOC = ABL [it] fly-NOMZ] bird big = ABS see-PFV

Did [you] see the big bird that flew over the house?

7.88 *[[2]ucu* *[1]neːme* *[4]hen = Ø* *[4]tim* *[1]phe = i = se* *[1]phyaŋ-pa] = Ø* *[1]mraŋ-ci?*

[that bird big = ABS house above = LOC = ABL fly-NOMZ] = ABS see-PFV

Did [you] see that big bird flying over the house?

Topical arguments can also be omitted from a non-gapped clausal complement according to the usual principles of zero anaphora:

7.89 *[⁴tim ¹phe=i=se ¹phyaŋ-pa]=Ø ¹mraŋ-ci?*
[house above=LOC=ABL fly-NOMZ]=ABS see-PFV
Did [you] see [it] flying over the house?

As they always take the place of nominal arguments, non-gapped clausal complements highlight to an even greater extent than control complements the structural similarity between nominalized clauses and true nouns at the level of a main clause. The status of nominalized verbal forms in Tamang and in Tibeto-Burman in general is a complicated question and requires further research.

7.7 Relativization

Tamang has three strategies for relativization:

i) a non-finite relative clause constructed with a nominalized form in *-pa*
ii) a 'headless' relative clause (which could also be called an argument nominalization), also constructed with a nominalized form in *-pa*, which stands as the head noun of the clause
iii) a correlative structure which involves two finite clauses

Of these, (i) and (ii) are more typical of Tibeto-Burman languages, being attested in many languages in the family (Bickel 1999a; DeLancey 2002; Genetti et al. 2008), while (iii) is a more typically South Asian feature, typical of Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991: 410-5). The existence of both non-finite and correlative relativization strategies in Tamang therefore reflects its position as a Tibeto-Burman language which has long been spoken on the south side of the Himalaya where it is in contact with South Asian areal influences.

These structures are quite different in terms of their grammatical relations. As mentioned in section 7.1, nominalized relative clauses (ie. type (i), which I shall refer to as 'relative clauses') and headless relative clauses (argument nominalizations) include a compulsory gap for the element of the main clause which is relativized.[113] Correlative patterns have no such requirement, and rather the element under discussion is usually overtly expressed in both the correlative clause and the main clause (see section 7.7.3). Despite being dependent on the main clause, correlative clauses also contain a finite verb, whereas relative clauses have a non-finite verb (although it is possible to make some aspectual distinctions in relative clauses). The nominalized predicate of non-finite relative clauses functions as an adnominal modifier to the head noun (see section 7.7.1). As mentioned in section 3.2, adnominals in Tamang can also stand as nominals (ie. heads of an NP): the headless relative structure is an example of this, being essentially a relative clause with no head noun, and where the nominalized predicate stands as the head (see section 7.7.2).

7.7.1 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are headed by the relativized element, which also stands as a participant in the main clause. The predicate of the relative clause is a verb nominalized with *-pa*, which generally occurs immediately before the relativized participant. The nominalized verb (which can be a simple lexical predicate, or a predicate with an inflected modal verb) stands in an adnominal relationship to relativized noun, indicating that it is similar to other modifiers (see section 3.2.5). In fact it is possible to make an argument that a large number of modifiers (those which end in *-pa*) are formally equivalent to relative clauses involving (stative) intransitive verbs. These modifiers belong to a defective class of descriptive verbs (eg. *³cya* 'be good', *²no* 'be tall'), which can take some verbal inflection (eg. *³cya-ci* (be.good-PFV) '[it] became good') but cannot take the full range of verbal inflectional morphemes. LaPolla (2008: 46) considers similar structures in Rawang which, as in Tamang, involve a nominalized verb appositional to the head noun, above all a form of modifier, and makes this explicit by referring to them as 'relative clause modifiers'. The fact that in Tamang

[113] I explicitly represent this gap as a zero element *[Ø]* in examples where it is relevant.

adnominal modifiers can also be used as heads of noun phrases entails that the adnominal status of relative clauses allows them to stand as nouns in the main clause. This is the headless relative clause type which is covered in section 7.7.2.

The relativized participant can be any argument of the main clause, as well as oblique elements such as possessor, source or goal.[114] It is always case-marked according to its role outside the relative clause rather than any relation in the relative clause, where it is compulsorily gapped. For example:

7.90 *[^{3}taŋke [Ø] ^{1}kha-pa] ^{3}mi=Ø ^{1}ŋyi paile=ki ^{3}ro ^{3}hinla*

[now [he] come-NOMZ] person=ABS I.GEN before=GEN friend COPE.NPST

The man who is coming now is my old friend.

7.91 *[^{2}ci: [Ø] ^{2}ʈi-pa] ^{1}kheppa=se ^{1}kuŋke=Ø ^{1}sat-ci ^{1}ro*

[here [he] sit-NOMZ] old.man=ERG tiger=ABS kill-PFV REP

Apparently the old man who lives here killed a tiger.

7.92 *[[Ø] ^{2}a=ki ^{2}cyun=ta ^{1}to-pa] ^{3}mi=ta ^{2}puŋ-ci*

[[he] you-GEN little.bro=PAT beat-NOMZ] person=PAT beat-PFV

[I] beat up the man who hit your little brother.

[114] However, if the relativized element is a source or goal in the main clause, this entails that it is a location, which cannot be an argument of the relative clause. Oblique elements such as locations can also be relativized, as I will explain later in this section.

7.93 *[²tilma [Ø] ¹kha-pa] ³mi=ki ²cyun=Ø ¹ŋyi iskul=i*

[yesterday [he] come-NOMZ] person=GEN before=ABS I.GEN school=LOC

paɖ ¹ti-pa

study-NOMZ

The man who came yesterday's little brother studies at my school.

Case-marking in the relative clause to some extent follows similar patterns as in the main clause, however it differs from main clauses as the relativized participant can never be overtly expressed, therefore any case-marking which would be associated with that participant can never be expressed as it has no NP to attach to. The relativized participant can stand in all argument and a number of non-argument roles in the relative clause (see below). However it appears that relative clauses privilege an ergative pivot relation with the main clause, as the default interpretation of the gapped element in a transitive relative clause is as the P argument, unless a P argument is overtly expressed, in which case the gapped element is interpreted as A in the clause.[115]

7.94 *[¹ti ²yuŋma [Ø] ²thaː-pa] ¹siŋ=Ø ⁴muː-cim*

[last year [it] cut-NOMZ] wood=ABS rot-EXPER

The wood which was cut last year has gone rotten.

7.95 *[[Ø] ¹siŋ=Ø ²thaː-pa] ³mi=ta ¹mraŋ-ci ¹wa?*

[[he] wood=ABS cut-NOMZ person=PAT see-PFV Q?

Did [you] see the man who is cutting wood?

[115] Relative clauses with intransitive verbs do not involve any other arguments, therefore the gapped element is naturally interpreted as the S argument, as in examples 7.90 and 7.91.

7.96 *[[Ø] [2]cu [4]tim=Ø [3]so-pa]* *[3]mi=Ø* *bides=i* *[1]ni-pa* *[3]cin-ci*

[[he] this house=ABS make-NOMZ] person=ABS abroad=LOC go-NOMZ finish-PFV

The man who built this house has gone abroad.

These examples might be considered in similar terms to the strategies of perspective by which elements are backgrounded and foregrounded in main clauses (see section 6.3). If there is a topical participant in the discourse preceding example 7.94, we can propose that this participant is present in the relative clause, but is omitted due to the same principles of zero anaphora which operate in main clauses, converbial clauses etc. However if there is no such topical participant it is possible to interpret this kind of clause in similar terms to what I referred to as backgrounding passives in the main clause (ie. a clause in which the agent is simply not expressed, but without any change to the syntactic status of the patient).

Case-marking in the relative clause can also be considered more highly syntacticized than that of main clauses, where assignment of the ergative and patientive cases is primarily semantic (see section 6.1.2). In a relative clause where the relativized element is P, if an A argument is overtly expressed it *must* be marked with the ergative case *=se*. The use of the patientive case *=ta* is similar to that of main clauses: it is quite consistently used on P arguments which are human, while inaminate P arguments are always marked with zero. This indicates that relative clauses operate on a primarily ergative basis internally, as well as on an ergative pivot: if an A argument is overtly expressed (rather than being gapped) it is consistently marked as ergative while if a P argument is overtly expressed, it is absolutive unless it is human (bearing in mind that human P arguments are atypical patients and therefore special marking is not wholly unexpected). S arguments are of course never expressed, as if there is only one argument in the relative clause, it is gapped. These patterns can be seen in the following examples:

7.97 *[²cyun=se [Ø] ²tha:-pa] ¹siŋ=Ø ⁴mu:-cim*

[little.bro=ERG [it] cut-NOMZ] wood=ABS rot-EXPER

The wood which my little brother cut has gone rotten.

7.98 *[¹ŋye [Ø] ²paŋ-pa] ¹tam=Ø ³ʈan-ta ¹mula?*

[I.ERG [it] say-NOMZ] word=ABS remember-NOMZ COPA.NPST

Do [you] remember what I said?

7.99 *[¹ŋye [Ø] ²puŋ-pa] ³mi=se pulis=ta ²paŋ-ci*

[I.ERG [him] beat-NOMZ] person=ERG police=DAT say-PFV

The man who I beat up told the police.

7.100 *[[Ø] ²a=ki ²cyun=ta ¹to-pa] ³mi=Ø ⁴yar-ci*

[[he] you=GEN little.bro=PAT beat-NOMZ] person=ABS run-PFV

The man who hit your little brother has run away.

Arguments other than the compulsory gapped argument can also be omitted from ditransitive relative clauses. If no argument in a ditransitive clause is overtly realized, the gapped argument is interpreted by default as referring to the T argument, for example:

7.101 *[²tilma ¹pin-ta] ¹ʈaŋka=Ø khoi?*

[yesterday give-NOMZ] money=ABS where?

Where's the money which [I?] gave [you] yesterday?

If the A argument is overtly expressed, it must be marked as ergative. For example:

7.102 *[^{1}ŋye ^{1}pin-ta ^{1}[taŋka]=Ø khoi?*

[I.ERG give-NOMZ money]=ABS where?

Where's the money I gave [you]?

If the T argument and no other is overtly expressed, the default interepretation of the gapped argument is the A argument of the relative clause. For example:

7.103 *[rin=Ø ^{1}pin-ta] ^{3}mi=se ^{2}tai=Ø ^{2}paŋ-ci?*

[loan=ABS give-NOMZ] person=ERG what=ABS say-PFV?

What did the man who gave the loan say?

The element can also be the G argument of the relative clause if the T and A arguments are overtly expressed. For example:

7.104 *[^{1}ŋye ^{1}[taŋka=Ø ^{1}pin-ta] ^{3}mi=Ø ^{4}yar-ci*

[I.ERG money=ABS give-NOMZ] person=ABS run-PFV

The man (who) I gave the money to has run away.

The hierarchy of default interpretations for the gapped element (ie. the pivot) of the relative clause appears to bear a relationship to the degree of obliqueness which the A, T and G arguments tend to hold in a main clause: while T is always marked with zero, A is frequently (although not always) marked with ergative (which is a direct case but a case marker nonetheless), and G is always marked with dative. Therefore, the fact that T is the default interpretation for the pivot appears to reflect the fact that it is the most direct argument in the main clauses, while the fact that G is only interepreted as pivot if the other two arguments are explicitly excluded from that status reflects the fact that it is the most oblique of the three arguments in a main clause.

A similar pattern emerges from relative clauses involving inverse predicates (see section 5.3.3). The oblique, more agent-like element (which is marked with dative in a main clause) can be relativized if the more patient-like S argument is overtly expressed, however the default reference of the gapped argument if no argument is overtly expressed in the relative clause is the patient-like S argument. For example:

7.105 *[[Ø] [1]to:-pa]* *kitab=Ø* *[2]cu* *[3]hinla* *[1]wa?*

[[it] be.necassary-NOMZ] book=ABS this COPE.NPST PART?

Is this the book that [you] need?

7.106 *[[Ø] [3]roŋ-pa]* *[4]ci=Ø* *[1]pin-o* *[1]ya*

[[it] be.tasty-NOMZ] beer=ABS give-HORT okay

Give [them] the good beer, okay?

7.107 *[[Ø] [4]ci=Ø* *[3]roŋ-pa]* *[3]mi=Ø* *[2]mahin* *kharca* *[1]la-pa*

[[he] beer=ABS be.tasty-NOMZ] person=ABS much expense do-NOMZ

People who like beer spend a lot of money.

Other types of peripheral elements can also be relativized, for example possessors:

7.108 *[[Ø]* *buddhi* *[1]mupa]* *[3]mi=Ø* *[1]to:-pa* *[3]hinla*

[[he=GEN] sense COPA.NOMZ] person=ABS need-NOMZ COPE.NPST

We need a man with some gumption!

Locations (including destinations):

7.109 *[himacel=i [Ø] [1]ni-pa] [4]la-cyappa=Ø [3]cya-pa [1]mupa*

[Himachel=LOC [it=LOC] go-NOMZ] place-COLL=ABS be.good-NOMZ COPA.PST

The places [we] went to in Himachel were beautiful.

7.110 *[[2]a=ta [Ø] [4]cyap [1]ta-pa] [4]la=Ø [3]ʈan [3]a-[1]kham-pa*

[you=DAT [it=LOC] together happen-NOMZ] place=ABS remember NEG-can-NOMZ

[I] can't remember the place where [I] met you.

Times:

7.111 *[[Ø] [2]pa:ta[3]mento [2]sar-pa] [3]pela=Ø [2]mahin [3]cya-pa [1]mula*

[[?] rhododendron flower-NOMZ] time=ABS very be.good-NOMZ COPA.NPST

The time when the rhododendrons flower is very beautiful.

These types of relative clause raise some interesting points about the relativization process. A possessor, a location and a time would each be expressed differently outside a relative clause: a possessor with genitive case, a location or destintion with the locative case, a time generally with an adjunct adverbial phrase which is not case-marked (eg. *tilma* 'yesterday', *arku satta* 'next week', *[3]kuriŋ* 'next year'). While locations and times can be considered adjuncts in a main clause, a genitive-marked noun does not operate at clause level, but only at the level of the noun phrase. The fact that all can be relativized indicates that there are not tight syntactic restrictions on what elements of a clause can be relativized, and that the nominalization strategy - which extends across the whole hierarchy proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1977) with regard to NPs' accessibility to relativization - is extremely versatile (this may again reflect the loose predicate-NP relations which

Bickel (1999b) proposes as a typical feature of Sino-Tibetan languages - see section 4.2). It also raises a question regarding the gapped element in the relative clause: when the gapped element of the relative clause is not an argument and all the arguments of the clause are therefore either overtly expressed or omitted through zero anaphora, this indicates that there is some other kind of a relationship than a pivot relationship with the main clause.

Genetti et al. (2008: 126) refer to structures of this type (which appears across many Tibeto-Burman languages) as 'nominal complement clauses' and highlight the fact that while the typical adnominal relative construction involves gapping of an argument, nominal complement clauses do not involve a gapped element. They note that 'heads of nominal complement constructions are usually abstract, referring to elements that are spoken or understood (e.g. news, story, fact, idea, plan)' (Genetti et al. 2008: 126). While relative clauses are structurally linked to their head noun by the gap which it controls in the clause, nominal complement clauses (which are also nominalized) appear to have a notional link to the noun to which they stand in an adnominal relationship. We could propose that any type of relativization which involves a peripheral element rather than an argument is of this type, as peripheral elements do not have an argument slot in the participant frame to be gapped in the relative clause, therefore the relationship between the clause and head noun is notional and pragmatic (eg. place, time, idea etc.) rather than structural. By this definition, 'relative clauses' with place, time etc. are not actually relative clauses. There is not enough space to resolve the issue here, but I have discussed this type of structure in the same section as relative clauses due to their structural similarity: the difference between the two rests on whether the relativized element of the main clause can be understood as an argument of the relative clause or not, and as mentioned in section 5.4.3, the distinction between arguments and adjuncts in Tamang is not always clean-cut. Therefore the difference, if any, between these types of clauses appears too subtle to distinguish clearly at present.

Relative clauses with a simple nominalized verb are unspecified with regard to tense and aspect: they can have present, future or past time reference, and can refer to states of affairs which are already complete, or ongoing. They can be given a greater degree of aspectual precision either by embedding the predicate of the relative clause in an aspectual construction with the auxiliary verb as the nominalized head of the relative clause, or by explicitly marking the predicate as anterior by using a perfect form of the nominalized verb. For example, a construction with the auxiliary *[1]la* 'do' which focuses on the inception of an action, or a progressive construction can be used. For example:

7.112 *[3]taŋke [1]ni-i [1]la-pa [3]mi=Ø [1]ŋyi [3]ro [3]hinla*
now go-INC do-NOMZ person=ABS I.GEN friend COPE.NPST
The man who is starting to leave/is about to leave is my friend.

7.113 *[3]taŋke [1]kan=Ø [1]ca-pano [1]la-pa [3]mi=Ø [1]ŋyi [3]ro [3]hinla*
now rice=ABS eat-PROG do-NOMZ person=ABS I.GEN friend COPE.NPST
The man who is eating now is my friend.

The more complicated aspectual adjustment in terms of the context of the main clause is made using the perfect nominalized form *-paki.* This form gives more precise aspectual information than a simple nominalized form, although a plain nominalized form is not incorrect. When the perfect nominalized form is used in relative clauses its temporal/aspectual reference appears closer to simple past rather than perfect (its meaning in auxiliary constructions, see section 3.3.7.4). Here are some examples:

7.114 *[1]si-paki [1]kheppa=Ø [1]ŋyi [2]asyaŋ par [1]ti-pa [1]mupa*
die-PERF old.man=ABS I.GEN mat.uncle fall-NOMZ COPA.PST
The old man who has died was my maternal uncle.

7.115 *[4]mu:-paki* *[1]siŋ=Ø* *[3]a-[1]ti:-pa* *[2]ʧim*

rot-PERF wood=ABS NEG-light-NOMZ be.EXPER

The rotten wood won't light.

The element *-ki* of the perfect nominalized form *-paki* is synonymous with the genitive case marker *=ki* and it appears almost certain that it is etymologically related to it. However, in a synchronic analysis, it seems to have an independent meaning from the genitive, therefore I analyse it as a separate morpheme. The most convincing proof that the perfect nominalized form is etymologically related to the genitive is that it shares the same split between adnominals and nominals. The perfect form *-paki* is used in full relative clauses with a nominal head, as the nominalized verb is dependent (as with the genitive case *=ki*). However, the form *-pakila* is used for the past form of headless relative clauses, where the nominalized verb itself is the head and stands as a nominal (equivalent to the pronominalized genitive form *=kila*, see section 4.8). It is the perfect form in *-pakila* which is used in perfect auxiliary constructions (see section 3.3.7.4), which constitutes another piece of evidence that these are closely related to copular constructions with nominal predicates.

7.7.2 Headless relative clauses (argument nominalizations)

Tamang relative clauses can also be 'headless', meaning that there is no head noun, and the nominalized verb itself stands as the element of the main clause which is relativized. This pattern appears to fit with a general tendency of Tamang, whereby adnominals can also stand as nouns (see section 3.2). In this regard, headless relative clauses play a similar role at the higher clause level as non-gapped clausal complements (see section 7.6.4), but they differ from them in terms of their internal structure as they contain a gapped element while non-gapped clausal complements do not. Some examples are as follows:

7.116 *[[Ø] [1]siŋ = Ø [2]tha:-pa] = Ø [3]la = i [2]ʈi-pa*

[[he] [wood = ABS cut-NOMZ] = ABS forest = LOC sit-NOMZ

The woodcutter lives in the forest.

7.117 *[[Ø] [1]siŋ = Ø [2]tha:-pa] = ki*[116] *[1]mriŋ = Ø [3]cya-pa [1]mula*

[[he] wood = ABS cut-NOMZ] = GEN woman = ABS be.good-NOMZ COPA.NPST

The woodcutter's wife is beautiful.

One piece of evidence that such nominalized predicates function as nouns is the ease with which they can be pluralized or quantified, in the same manner as other adnominals such as adjectives and demonstratives:

[1]mraŋke [1]kuri-pakal black cat-PL	: black cats

[1]mraŋke-pakal black-PL	: black ones

[2]kyacu [3]mi-pakal that person-PL	: those people

[2]kyacu-pakal that-PL	: those, they

Some examples include:

7.118 *[[2]tilma [Ø] [1]kha-pa-pakal] = Ø [4]tolo = no [1]ni-pa [3]cin-ci*

[yesterday [they] come-NOMZ-PL] = ABS earlier = FOC go-NOMZ finish-PFV

The ones who came yesterday have already left.

[116] In speech, this phrase sounds identical to the past relative clauses in *-paki* (see section 7.7.1). The ambiguity resulting from this has to be interpreted from context.

7.119 *[[Ø] [4]kyat [3]so-pa-cyappa]=ta [1]kan [4]ci=Ø [1]pin [1]to:-pa*

[[they] work make-NOMZ-COLL]=DAT rice beer=ABS give must-NOMZ

[We] have to give food and beer to the workers.

7.120 *[[4]tolo [Ø] [3]yo-pa-cyappa]=Ø [1]pin-o*

[earlier [they] cook-NOMZ-COLL]=ABS give-HORT

Give [them] the ones cooked earlier.

The above examples display several different types of relativized elements. Headless relative clauses follow the same referential tendencies as relative clauses with a head noun: the default interpretation of the gapped element of the clause (which the nominalized predicate, standing as head, also refers to) is P in a transitive clause unless a P argument is overtly expressed, in which case the gapped element is understood to be A. The same principles also apply for ditransitive, inverse clauses etc. as with relative clauses with head nouns, and with intransitive clauses of course, only one argument is available to stand as the gapped element (pivot).

As with relative clauses involving a head noun, headless relative clauses are unspecified with regard to time reference. It is also possible to give a specifically past/anterior meaning to headless relative clauses by using the perfect nominalized form *-pakila* (the nominal form with the final element *-la* is used rather than the adnominal form *-paki* which is used in full relative clauses). Some examples are as follows:

7.121 *[[2]tilma [Ø] [1]kha-pakila]=Ø [4]tolo=no [1]ni-pa [3]cin-ci*

[yesterday [they] come-PERF]=ABS earlier=FOC go-NOMZ finish-PFV

The one who came yesterday has already left.

7.122 *[[Ø] ²ucu ¹siŋ=Ø ²tha:-pakila]=Ø ²ci: ²ti-pa*

[[he] that wood cut-PERF]=ABS here sit-NOMZ

The one who cut that wood lives here.

This form emphasizes the fact that the state of affairs expressed in the relative clause took place in the past. As in full relative clauses, it is not compulsory to use it with headless relative clauses with past reference, as the simple nominalized verb can have a past interpretation. Rather it is a stylistic alternative which emphasizes the past time reference of the event more explicitly than the simple form does.

7.7.3 Correlative clauses

It is also possible to relativize elements in Tamang using a correlative construction. This is formed of two clauses: the first clause (the correlative clause) specifies an element (which can be nominal or otherwise) which is then referred back to in the main clause. This can be literally translated into English as something like '*whoever* is coming tomorrow, *that person* is my old friend'. It appears likely that this structure in Tamang represents a borrowed rather than an inherited feature, as it widepsread in Indo-Aryan (Masica 1991: 410-5) but less common in Tibeto-Burman languages, many of which use structures similar to the relative and headless relative constuctions discussed in sections 7.7.1 and 7.7.2. While Nepali (on which the correlative construction in Tamang is probably modelled) has a distinct set of relative pronouns and adverbials which are used in correlative clauses, Tamang uses the same set of forms which are used for content questions (see section 3.4.3).

The predicate of the correlative clause can be considered a main verb as it can have any of the inflections of the verb in a main clause, however the correlative clause must be considered dependent on the main clause because as part of this construction it cannot stand without the main clause, however this is due to the correlativized element (which as mentioned above is referred to with a content question word) rather than the verb.

Some examples are as follows:

7.123 *[2]tilma [2]khatle [1]la-ci [3]taŋke = no [2]otle [1]lo*

yesterday how do-PFV now = FOC like.that do.HORT

Do [it] how [you] did [it] yesterday.

7.124 *[2]khacu [3]mi = Ø rames = ki [4]tim = i [4]cyap [1]ta-ci*

which person = ABS Rasmesh = GEN house = LOC together happen-PFV

[2]ucu = Ø iskul = ki mastar [3]hinla

that = ABS school = GEN teacher COPE.NPST

The man who [we] met in Ramesh's house is the school teacher.

7.125 *[2]khala = Ø [2]ci: [2]ʈi-pa [1]mupa [2]ucu = Ø indiya = i [1]ni-ci*

who = ABS here sit-NOMZ COPA.PST that = ABS India = LOC go-PFV

The man who lived here has gone to India.

8. Conclusion

In this thesis, I set out to investigate grammatical relations which exist in Tamang at the intra-clausal and inter-clausal levels. To this end, after an introductory chapter dealing with the background to the thesis (chapter 1), I examined the theoretical frameworks which would be employed and salient issues which arise around the research questions in chapter 2. Chapter 3 introduced the main features of Tamang grammar, which serve as a basis for detailed discussion of the research questions in later chapters. Over chapters 4 and 5, I presented the morphosyntactic means by which grammatical relations are expressed and the relations which hold between predicates and their participants in all types of main clause. In chapter 6, I then discussed patterns emerging from these data in light of typological literature on grammatical relations, and considered the links between grammatical relations and other domains of the language such as pragmatics, information structure and the lexicon. Finally, I turned to discuss grammatical relations in dependent clauses and structures of clause linkage in chapter 7.

8.1 Summary of findings

Chapters 1, 2 and 3 can be considered preliminary chapters. Chapter 1 presented the context of the research in the thesis, which included the geographical and social context of Tamang, its genetic affiliation and previous research conducted on the language (sections 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3). The sociolinguistic context of Tamang is fascinating in many respects, but unfortunately due to space constraints it was not possible to discuss it in detail. This chapter also laid out the research questions, theoretical orientation and research methodologies adopted in the thesis (sections 1.4, 1.5 and 1.6). The theoretical framework incorporated insights from a number of different theories, and the field approach involved a combination of participant observation, corpus material and elicitation.

The purpose of chapter 2 was to assess the usefulness of various theoretical categories and frameworks for analysing Tamang. It proposed that the grammatical phenomena encountered in Tamang do not warrant proposing traditional or Chomskyan categories of subject and object as salient (section 2.1.1); and that the best working approach for analysing grammatical relations in the language involves prototype categories such as proto-agent/proto-patient (section 2.1.3), and generalized roles S/A/P/G/T (section 2.1.4). It noted several challenges presented by patterns of participant omission, which include distinguishing cases of argument suppression from zero anaphora (secion 2.3) and how these relate to transitivity and valency (section 2.2); and the importance of the lexically-specific participant frames of individual predicates in Tamang grammar and discourse (section 2.5). It also proposed a principled division between direct arguments which can stand without overt case-marking, and oblique elements which must be overtly marked for case (section 2.4).

The objective of chapter 3 was to give a holistic summary of the fundamental aspects of Tamang grammar - many of which warrant more detailed research and analysis - so as to provide an analytical basis for the discussions in later chapters focusing on grammatical relations. This chapter outlined the basics of Tamang phonology (section 3.1), introduced the main word classes, presented the structure of the noun phrase (section 3.2), gave a thorough overview of verbal constructions and semantics (section 3.3), and highlighted the importance of pragmatics and information structure in Tamang grammar (section 3.5). It also contained some observations with an important bearing on the working of Tamang discouse. These include the fact that constituent order at the clause level is determined by information structure rather than role (although the implicational link between the two is exploited in a number of ways, see sections 6.3 and 6.5); and that topical information (including participants) is frequently omitted in discourse, a considerable amount of it being inferred from conversational implicatures arising from links between person reference, polarity and evidentiality/hearsay (see sections 3.3.6 and 3.5).

Chapter 4 presented the set of clitic case morphemes which encode clausal and phrasal relations (section 4.2). Four forms are identified with significant roles at the clause level: *=Ø* (absolutive), *=se* (ergative/ablative), *=ta* (patientive/dative) and *=i* (locative). The forms *=se* and *=ta* are each analysed as expressing two homophonous case morphemes, which are distinguished by their syntactic properties (sections 4.4 and 4.5): ergative and patientive cases are used on direct arguments and alternate with absolutive (which has no overt marking), while ablative and dative are invariable and are used on oblique elements. This is essentially an analytical device, as both *=se* and *=ta* can be considered to display a high degree of semantic unity across their uses, which entail that direct arguments marked with them display particular alignment patterns with oblique participants and adjuncts (see below).

Chapter 5 laid out all the patterns of grammatical relations in main clauses, including non-verbal predicates, and verbal predicates with one, two and three participants. Apart from standard intransitive, transitive and ditransitive patterns (sections 5.2.1, 5.3.1 and 5.4.1 respectively), it presented alternative frames involving complements and inverse predicates (sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3), as well as reciprocals (section 5.2.2), reflexives (section 5.3.4), benefactives (section 5.4.2) and causatives (section 5.5). This chapter also considered certain complications related to clause structure, including those with regard to classifying certain oblique elements as arguments or adjuncts (section 5.4.3), and those arising from complex predicates involving non-verbal elements at different stages of lexicalization (5.7); and the status of clausal complements as compared to lexical nouns from the perspective of the main clause and matrix verbs (section 5.6). For all types of construction presented in the chapter, invariable and variable patterns of case-marking were discussed, and factors which influence variable case-marking in an utterance.

Chapter 6 discussed the patterns presented in chapters 4 and 5 in the context of theoretical and typological literature on grammatical relations and alignment. This began with a more detailed discussion of the properties of case morphemes: their use on direct arguments is primarily motivated

by semantic factors (ergative is prototypically associated with a highly transitive agent, and patientive with an affected human patient - section 6.1.2); however it also displays aspects of syntacticization (section 6.1.3), in terms of generalization and abstraction of roles into grammatical relations expressed by particular predicate frames (eg. the transitive frame) and of the patterns of case assignment governed by certain predicates. The functions of the ergative case are the most strongly syntacticized, while the patientive case is more purely semantic. While all participant functions (ie. arguments and complements) can be considered governed, the government of A and P arguments (and certain classes of S arguments) allows for subcategorization of no overt case-marking (ie. absolutive) and ergative for A/some S, and absolutive and patientive for P/some S. With regard to the absolutive case, it is not absolutely clear whether its use imparts a meaning of its own or whether it is simply a default case for direct arguments which do not have any properties which warrant overt case-marking. Given the complexities surrounding the use of the ergative and patientive cases, the latter possibility seems more likely. This appears to support LaPolla's (2004) proposal that case morphemes across Tibeto-Burman languages developed originally to encode privative, non-syntactic meanings, and have only developed to encode equipollent, syntacticized relations in some languages: Tamang can be considered to be at an intermediate stage. The case-marking of oblique participants is more strongly syntacticized than that of direct participants (section 6.1.4), as it generally involves government by the predicate assigning one invariable case. However, the case generally provides quite specific information as to the role of the participant in the clause. Furthermore, there is a clear separation between human/animate obliques (which are marked with dative) and inanimate obliques (which are marked with locative or ablative). This section also contained an overview of variable and non-variable case-marking patterns for different categories of argument (section 6.1.5), and of the properties of case markers with regard to whether their use overlaps governed and non-governed, and variable and non-variable functions (section 6.1.6). This analysis indicated that absolutive, ergative and patientive can be considered direct cases, and the other clause level cases (ie. ablative, dative, locative), oblique cases.

The next section of chapter 6 looked at the alignment patterns associated with the arguments of intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses. A arguments are considered in the context of debates on ergativity (section 6.2.2): Tamang ergativity is of the type where ergative (marked by *=se*) aligns with ablative and instrumental functions, and as the ergative is not used systemically on A arguments (its use varying with absolutive), it can be discussed under the headings of 'split ergativity' (Dixon 1994) or 'optional ergative marking' (McGregor 2010). This profile is similar to that which has been described for Tamang's fairly close relative, Tibetan (Tournadre 1991). There are no salient differences between A arguments of transitive and ditransitive clauses. P arguments, which also display variable marking (absolutive vs. patientive) are considered in the context of differential object marking (Bossong 1991) (section 6.2.3), although the fact that the use of an overt case on Tamang P arguments is determined first by animacy and then by semantic factors such as affectedness, indicates that this system is quite different from those of languages which are often discussed in this category, where the differential marking tends to be determined by referentiality, specificity etc. P arguments marked in the patientive case align with dative-marked oblique arguments and complements. The variable marking of P arguments also complicates the question of the typological profile of T and G arguments (section 6.2.5). The direct object/primary object distinction (Dryer 1986) (alternatively, indirective/secundative alignment, Haspelmath 2008), often used to classify ditransitive clauses, is based on consistent marking patterns of P arguments in transitive clauses, which Tamang does not display. However, if we consider absolutive to be the unmarked case for P arguments (based on the fact that patientive is only used some of the time on a restricted class of P arguments), we can propose that Tamang has a consistent and syntacticized pattern of indirective alignment in ditransitive clauses. S arguments are considered in the context of split intransitivity (section 6.2.4), in which they exhibit a fluid-S rather than a split-S pattern (Dixon 1994), which is determined firstly by lexical classes of intransitive predicates, and within certain classes which govern variable marking, by specific factors related to each utterance. Tamang's split intransitivity is typologically unusual as it allows three types of case-marking for S arguments: absolutive (which can be considered unmarked), ergative (which can be associated with agentivity

but is also used with a class of verbs related to bodily functions), and patientive (which indicates patientivity/affectedness). The fact that all three direct cases can be used on S arguments means that Tamang displays patterns similar to classic stative-active, as well as patterns similar to what can be termed oblique subject patterns (see Nichols 2008).

This chapter also considered the interaction between grammatical relations and other domains, specifically pragmatic/information structure and the lexicon. Apart from its semantic and syntactic aspects discussed above, case-marking of direct arguments also has a pragmatic dimension and interacts with strategies such as manipulation of constituent order, zero anaphora, and others discussed in section 3.5 (information structure markers, predicate backgrounding, argument focus with equative auxiliaries) to give different perspectives on a proposition. These strategies play an important role in Tamang discourse, and allow speakers to background or foreground various elements according to their rhetorical preference without the need for derivations such as passive and anti-passive which rely on syntacticized case-marking and argument categories. Construal of grammatical functions in discourse also interacts with knowledge of the lexicon, particular participant frames of each predicate and ambitransitive/labile patterns (section 6.4). While transitive verbs with a suppressed A argument can be interpreted as backgrounding passives (see Foley 2007), patient-oriented labile verbs might be interpreted in that way or as spontaneous states of affairs which are not caused by the input of an external agent. Labile properties differ across the verbal lexicon, and need to be learnt for each verbal lexeme in order to understand discourse with precision.

Many of the patterns discussed in chapter 6 (ie. alignment of direct arguments with oblique elements, variable case-marking patterns, construction-specific case patterns (eg. inverse), perspective, ambitransitive patterns) can be satisfactorily explained by an analysis of main clause structure which sees participants as points on a trajectory (section 6.5). Starting from Tourndre's (1994) analysis of case patterns in Tibetan, I propose three supercases for Tamang: Source, Neutral

and Goal, which are encoded by *=se*, *=Ø* and *=ta* respectively. In a clause where one argument has no overt case-marking (ie. Neutral marking), this argument can be seen as the centre of gravity of the clause. In addition to this, a point from where the state of affairs is instigated (whether an argument or adjunct) can be marked as Source and a point to which the state of affairs is extended (likewise, either argument or adjunct) can be marked as Goal. Instances where two arguments have Neutral marking add another dimension to this model, which relates to the issues noted regarding the absolutive case above. Such instances indicate that case-marking is not the only means by which participant roles A and P are distinguished in a transitive clause,[117] and in such instances word order is the primary indicator of participant roles. However, this does not entail that Tamang has 'unmarked' SOV (or APV) word order. Rather, the ordering of argument roles reflects information structure: the clause-initial element is topical and the pre-verbal element is focal. As topics tend to correlate with agents and focus with patients (Du Bois 1987), there is a conversational implicature that the topical position is agent and the focal position is patient. Participant frames and real world knowledge as to logically probable agents and patients also play a role (section 2.5). In a marked situation where roles do not correlate with the expected patterns, this is explicitly flagged by overt case morphemes.

Chapter 7 turned from grammatical relations in the main clause to look at relations in dependent clauses and structures of clause linkage. The latter comprise a number of patterns with varying degrees of structural dependence: two clauses can be coordinated but fully structurally independent (section 7.2), and clauses with finite verbal morphology can be subordinated to another clause by a complementizer (finite clausal complements, section 7.6.3) or a correlative pattern (section 7.7.3); clauses predicated by a dependent verb may have independent participant frames and reference as with, for instance, converbial, conditional and adverbial clauses (sections 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5 respectively) as well as non-gapped clausal complements (section 7.6.4); or they may be tightly

[117] The existence of all variable case patterns on direct arguments also have similar implications; however if one argument is overtly marked then the other can be understood as neutral.

dependent on the main clause with a compulsory gap for the pivot argument, as occurs with non-finite clausal complements governed by matrix verbs (section 7.6.2), and full and headless relative clauses (sections 7.7.1 and 7.7.2). All finite dependent clauses, as well as converbial, conditional and adverbial clauses, have the same patterns of case-marking as main clauses; however non-finite complement clauses and relative clauses (all of which are formed using nominalized verbs) have more syntacticized case-marking than main clauses, as A arguments, if they are expressed, must be in the ergative case (although the use of the patientive case is the same as in main clauses). Non-gapped clausal complements and headless relative clauses can both stand as arguments in the higher clause; the former appears to function as an action nominalization while the latter is an argument nominalization, which is formed when the head noun of a relative clause is omitted and the adnominal relativizing predicate is used as a nominal in its own right (section 7.7.2). There are important differences in the linkage relations which different types of dependent clause bear to the main clause. All finite dependent clauses have fully independent grammatical relations and verbs; there is therefore no grammatical relation between their participant structure and that of the main clause. The same can be said for converbial, conditional and adverbial clauses, and non-gapped clausal complements, where expression of all participants is independent of the main clause and omission of any participant is determined by the same patterns of zero anaphora which operate for topical participants across sentence boundaries. The only dependent clauses which have pivots (which privilege the relation of a particular participant) are non-finite clausal complements governed by matrix verbs, and full/headless relative clauses. As mentioned above, all of these structures require a compulsory gap for the pivot in the dependent clause. For non-finite complements, the pivot argument in the dependent clause (and the argument in the main clause with which it is coreferential) is lexically specified by the matrix verb. Relative clauses are less restricted: the relativized element can be any argument or any of a number of adjuncts and peripheral NPs in the relative clause, and can be most pragmatically felicitous roles in the main clause. However, relativization patterns display a preference for P arguments as pivots, as the gapped element will

only be understood to be the A argument if a P argument is overtly expressed (in ditransitive clauses there is preference for T, then A, and finally G - section 7.7.1).

8.2 Relevance of findings to linguistics

Aspects of Tamang grammar discussed in this thesis offer useful contributions to a number of topics in linguistics.

The first of these is the partial but uneven syntacticization of Tamang's grammatical relations. Tamang's case morphemes have semantic, syntactic and pragmatic qualities; however in some transitive clauses neither argument is marked with an overt case, therefore not only case markers, but the implicatures associated with the links between role, information structure and real-world knowledge, also play a role. As mentioned in section 6.1, this profile places Tamang in a position between Sino-Tibetan languages where grammatical relations are syntacticized according to abstracted and generalized role categories or invariable case assignment by the predicate, and are cross-referenced on the verb, as in Kham (Watters 2002), Chepang (Caughley 1982), and Kiranti languages such as Yakkha (Schackow 2014); and those which are proposed to lack syntactic relations such as Meithei (Chelliah 1997) and Chinese (LaPolla 1993). It also stands somewhere between two profiles of non-syntactic languages, one represented by Meithei, where overt 'case' morphemes encode information about the semantic status of arguments regarding the state of affairs expressed in the utterance, and the other represented by Chinese, in which direct arguments are not marked for case, and where the links between word order, information structure and real world knowledge are exploited for construal of discourse. Tamang's mixed and intermediate profile seems closest to those described for fairly close relatives such as Tibetan (Tournadre 1991), Kurtöp (Hyslop 2010, 2011) and Tshangla (Andvik 2010); and it raises questions about the interaction between semantic and syntactic categories, including how one might develop into the other (see LaPolla 2004), as well as the link between these and pragmatics (see Chelliah 2009).

As Bickel (1999b) notes, there is evidence that some languages display a looser link between predicates and their participants than the strongly integrative patterns familiar from Indo-European. I accounted for the variable patterns of case-marking in Tamang by proposing that these are instances of subcategorization rather than rigid government (see section 2.4), however a better knowledge of non-integrative patterns of clausal relations (which are still not well described) might eventually lead to a more subtle analysis. Bickel (1999b) also associates non-integrative clausal relations with low referential density of participant NPs and 'topic-comment' clause structure, which are characteristic of Tamang (see sections 2.3 and 3.5.1). Furthermore, the language does not have verbal agreement. Therefore it exemplifies how the functional load related to reference, which is explicitly encoded in many languages by pronouns or cross-referencing of arguments on the verb, can be expressed through alternative means. In Tamang, this is effected by conversational implicatures linking polarity, evidentiality and hearsay with person and reference (see sections 3.5.1 and 3.3.6), which are used by speakers and hearers for the construction and construal of discourse. Lambrecht (1994: chapter 1) notes that languages differ with regard to how strongly information structure influences clausal structure. In Tamang the influence is strong, as information status is the primary factor determining word order (section 3.5.1), can be expressly marked through a specific set of morphemes (section 3.5.2), and can condition backgrounding of the predicate (section 3.5.3) and the use of the attributive or equative copulas in auxiliary constructions (section 3.5.4). As mentioned above, it can also influence case-marking (section 6.3). As links between grammatical case and information structure are still in the early stages of research (see Barðdal and Chelliah 2009; Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011), the mixed profile of Tamang's case markers can make a contribution to this analysis, particularly with regard to the division of labour between them and the set of morphemes which encode only information structure.

Tamang also demonstrates the necessity of considering the role of the lexicon and of specific constructions in analysing grammatical relations and clause structure. While many propositions involving two participants are lexicalized in the transitive frame (section 5.3.1), alternative patterns

exist for propositions with lower degrees of transitivity (see sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3). The dative-marked complements of inverse clauses, although they are more prototypically agentive than the S argument of the clause, are blocked from being the pivot of a non-finite clause governed by a matrix verb (see section 7.6.2). As another example, one argument can be placed after the nominalized predicate in auxiliary constructions with the equative copula *[3]hin* as auxiliary (see section 3.5.4), while in auxiliary constructions with the attributive copula *[1]mu* the nominalized predicate must stand immediately before the auxiliary. If an argument in an equative auxiliary clause occurs in this position, it cannot receive case-marking. This indicates that the equative auxiliary construction with *[3]hin* still has more properties of a copular construction, and is at an earlier stage of grammaticalization than the standard auxiliary construction with the attributive copula *[1]mu* (see section 3.3.7). Observations such as these can make a contribution to lexical theories of grammar such as Lexical-Functional Grammar (see Bresnan 2001) and discussions of grammaticalization (see Traugott and Heine 1991).

With regard to typologies of alignment patterns, Tamang data can contribute to discussions on various aspects of ergativity (section 6.2.2), differential object marking (section 6.2.3), split intransitivity (section 6.2.4), and indirective/secundative alignment (section 6.2.5). However, the essence of the system underlying Tamang alignment patterns is perhaps better captured by the 'trajectory model' (section 6.5) originally proposed for Tibetan (Tournadre 1994), which also accommodates many of the other phenomena such as alignment of arguments with adjuncts, tense/aspectual splits, perspective, construction-specific patterns, ambitransitivity/lability etc. This raises the question of whether discussions of alignment in terms of the semantic-syntactic categories S, A, P etc. can represent to a satisfactory degree the system which actually motivates observable alignment patterns. Although this model appears to work for the two quite closely related languages Tibetan and Tamang, it would be interesting to investigate whether it can be usefully applied to any other branches of Sino-Tibetan or languages in other families, or whether such a system of clausal relations is restricted to the Tibetic and Tamangic groups. The various patterns which can be

discussed under the trajectory model do not provide compelling evidence for syntactically consistent categories of subject or object in intra-clausal relations.

Tamang makes a valuable contribution to debates on cross-clausal grammatical relations. The fact that different types of dependent clause bear very different structural relationships to the main clause, some involving pivots and some not, demonstrates how grammatical relations should be considered on a construction by construction basis. There is no evidence for a general pivot or inter-clausal subject relation in this language, as while some constructions (governed non-finite clausal complements, section 7.6.2) privilege S/A arguments, others (relative clauses, sections 7.7.1 and 7.7.2) privilege P, and others (converbial, conditional, and adverbial clauses, sections 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5) do not privilege any argument in a grammatical relation with the main clause. The importance of nominalization in clausal subordination strategies is striking. Similar patterns have been noted in very many Sino-Tibetan languages and are considered a general feature of the family (see Noonan 1997; Bickel 1999b; Genetti et al. 2008; Watters 2008). While the wide range of uses of nominalized forms as nominals, dependent verbal structures and main verbs evident in Tamang is familiar from other Sino-Tibetan languages, an interesting aspect of Tamang's nominalization profile is that one form *-pa* carries out all of these functions[118], which is similar to patterns observed in another Tamangic language, Chantyal (see Noonan 1997), but differs from languages in other subgroups of the family, which have a number of nominalizer morphemes, for instance Lhasa Tibetan (see DeLancey 2003: 276) and Kiranti languages (see Wattters 2008: 2). The status of nominalized forms between verbs and nouns is a complex topic which has already generated a large literature (see Yap et al. 2011). Data from Tamang can therefore contribute to wider debates on word classes. It can also contribute to the related debate on the finiteness of verbal constructions (see Nikolaeva 2007). Verbal forms traditionally considered non-finite and as displaying many properties of nouns in well-studied language families such as Indo-European can be formally

[118] Or more precisely the vast majority of them - the inceptive participle *-i/-te* also appears to be a non-finite nominalized form, however it is used in a much more limited range of constructions. It is also not completely clear whether this is primarily a non-finite or finite form (see section 3.3.8.4).

distinguished from main verbs by the fact that they cannot stand as the inflectional head of a main clause. This distinction does not hold in Tamang, as nominalized verbal forms can stand as main verbs which background the predicate in discourse (see section 3.5.3). In Eurasia, similar phenomena have been observed in other languages of the Himalayan Region (mostly Tibeto-Burman but also Indo-Aryan, eg. Nepali - see Owen-Smith 2013b) and the Caucasus (Kalinina and Sumbatova 2007), however they remain at early stages of investigation. Although it was not a major focus of this thesis, data from Tamang can make useful contributions to discussions on this topic, as well as to research on verbal inflectional semantics, in particular evidentiality, and the links between evidentiality and discourse structure (which, as mentioned above, create implicatures about person reference).

8.3 Avenues for further research

Although this thesis has examined Tamang grammatical relations in detail, and considered aspects of their interaction with some other domains such as pragmatics and the lexicon, there remain very many aspects of the language which I was not able to cover in detail, or at all.

From a purely morphosyntactic viewpoint, the thesis raised a number of questions which it was not able to resolve. The most important of these is probably the ramifications for clause structure arising from the fact that there is no formal distinction between finite and non-finite verbal inflections (see section 3.3.2). As a working solution, I opted to treat clauses which appear to stand as independent utterances without probable ellipsis as main clauses; however ultimately it would be preferable either to find a principled way of distinguishing main and dependent clauses, or some alternative framework for considering finiteness. As mentioned in section 8.2, the different degrees to which auxiliary constructions are grammaticalized have consequences for case-marking. It would be desirable to reach a firmer conclusion as to whether verbal inflections which appear intermediate between finite and non-finite have similar consequences. A better understanding of nominalized verbal forms in particular would also shed light on the significant grey area between nouns and

verbs. As noted in section 3.3.7.4, negation affects the structure of verbal constructions, however the topic has been discussed only in passing, and more systematic research into negation and scope is needed. Likewise, the status of complex predicates in clause structure (briefly discussed in section 5.7) needs to be investigated in more detail, as does the relationship between case markers and information structure markers, given the links between case functions and pragmatics which can allow morphemes to move between categories (see Barðdal and Chelliah 2009). It would also be beneficial to investigate the TAME (tense, aspect, modality, evidentiality) system of the language in more detail, both with regard to its interaction with clause structure and grammatical relations, and to get a better idea of TAME semantics (especially evidential and modal categories).

There are also topics in other domains outside of morphosyntax and semantics. Firstly, I have relied heavily on Mazaudon's work on other Tamang dialects (1973 *inter alia*) as the basis of my phonological analysis of the Indrawati Khola dialect, as I have not been able to investigate the phonology or the phonetics of this dialect in detail in the period of research. Consequently, I have also not been able to investigate intonation and prosody, which constitute interesting topics in their own right, but are also essential for a comprehensive analysis of information structure (for instance, intonational units might interact with word order to indicate topical and focal status), as well as for understanding the interaction between these and lexical tone (for instance, attitude particles (see section 3.5.5) appear to carry their own tone, however they also appear to form an intonational unit with the verb of a clause).

Other topics which have not been addressed in the thesis and would constitute useful and interesting areas for further research include more anthropologically-oriented aspects of language use, such as discourse structure and the linguistic manifestations of social relations. The former includes issues such as how Tamang-speakers present and manipulate the content of a narrative or conversation, including strategies such as staging (see Brown and Yule 1983) and conversational implicature (see section 3.5.1), maintenance or switching of discourse topic, what types of sentence fragment can

constitute an acceptable utterance, and conventions of turn-taking and holding the floor in conversation. These relate closely to socially-regulated aspects of language use (see Foley 1997) such as politeness, conventions of address, face-saving (see Bickel and Gaenszle 2005) and the use of honorific forms (see DeLancey 1998). All of these topics are complex and interrelated systems, which also interact with grammar (highlighting the problematic nature of Chomsky's (1965) attempt to isolate 'linguistic competence' from 'linguistic performance'), and all must be learnt by children in their period of linguistic development. With certain important exceptions (see eg. Stoll et al. 2012; Stoll and Bickel 2013), child language acquisition and the speech of care-givers has been minimally studied in Tibeto-Burman languages. Given that Tamang discourse appears to operate on quite different principles of reference, implicature, staging etc. from the (mainly European) languages where language acquisition has been studied in detail, this would be a very interesting area for further research.

Although this thesis has been based on naturalistic data (ie. natural speech supplemented by elicitation and discussion with consultants, see section 1.6) the extent of the corpus is small compared to projects such as the Chintang-Puma Documentation Project (see Gaenzsle et al. 2005), which allow for quantitative studies based on extensive corpus data (eg. Stoll and Bickel 2012). Future research in Tamang would ideally involve building up a larger corpus which could allow for similar studies. Certain linguistic genres were also not represented in the current corpus, for instance ritual language used by religious specialists (of which there are several different types in Tamang society, see Holmberg 1989), and that of poetry and songs. All of these genres would provide important counterparts to the relatively spontaneous narrative and discourse data upon which this thesis is based. Data from less spontaneous genres would allow us to determine whether these genres show different forms of language from everyday usage, and would also make available a wealth of information about Tamang religion, worldview and history, probably including histories of ethnogenesis and migration. Such work would follow the lead of Höfer (1981, 1997), whose research involves detailed linguistic and anthropological analysis of ritual language of Tamang

shamans of Dhading District at the western edge of the Tamang-speaking world. Tautscher (2007) makes it clear that Tamang oral histories are closely tied to clan affiliations and locality, therefore it is likely that such data from the Indrawati Khola region would provide much new historical information on this area, which has not been studied up till the present time.

The sociolinguistic and historical contexts of Tamang would each constitute large and stimulating areas for further research. As mentioned in chapter 1, Tamang has more than a million speakers and is extremely dialectally diverse. Although Varenkamp (1996) examined speakers' attitudes to different dialects and mutual intelligibility, there has still been no grammatical comparison of different dialects. Furthermore, language contact between Tamang and languages such as Nepali, Tibetan, Gurung, Newar, Yolmo and other languages (as well as the recent and growing contact influence of English) has barely been investigated (but see Owen-Smith and Donohue 2012). Research in this area would provide more information on the linguistic and cultural aspects of bilingualism and code-switching. Systematic cross-dialectal comparison with due consideration of contact influences could eventually contribute to a better understanding of the diachronic development of Tamang, and ultimately to a more detailed reconstruction of proto-Tamang or proto-Tamangic, building on Mazaudon's (1978, 1985) work in this area.

I hope that this thesis will make a contribution to the body of research on Tamang which has been carried out by native and non-native speakers of the language (see section 1.3), and provide a useful reference point for future research into the areas outlined here.

Appendix: Tamang text

A village argument

Oral narrative. Speaker: Saroj Tamang (Lekharka)

1 *[1]ti [2]yuŋma ki [1]ti [2]yuŋma*
last year PART last year
last year you know last year

2 *[2]ucu [1]kheppa=ki [1]min=[4]ca=Ø [1]ŋa=ta [2]tha: [1]are*
that old.man=GEN name=CTOP=ABS I=DAT knowledge NEG.COPA.NPST
I don't know that old man's name

3 *[1]ŋa=ta patta [1]are [2]ucu [1]kheppa=ki [1]min=[4]ca=Ø*
I=DAT news NEG.COPA.NPST that old.man=GEN name=CTOP=ABS
I don't know that old man's name

4 *[1]ŋa=Ø [2]tilma [3]raŋ-si [1]kor [1]ni-pa [1]mupa*
I=ABS yesterday like-SEQ wander go-NOMZ COPA.PST
I was walking around some time ago

5 *[2]ucu [1]mriŋkola [4]ki:=ta [1]ŋye [3]ŋo:-pa [1]mupa*
that girl one=PAT I.ERG tease-NOMZ COPA.PST
and I teased that one girl

6 *[3]ŋo:pa [1]mupa [2]ose-ma [2]namsyo [3]raŋ-si*
tease-NOMZ COPA.PST then-DUR tomorrow like-SEQ
[I] teased [her] then the next day

7 *[2]namsyo [3]raŋ-si=no [1]mar [1]ŋa=Ø [2]marpa=i [4]tor [2]kor [1]ni-ci*
tomorrow like-SEQ-FOC below I=ABS lower=LOC around wander go-PFV
the next day I went downhill for a walk

8 *[2]ose-ma=m [2]ucu [1]kheppa [4]hen=se*
then-DUR=TOP that old.man big=ERG
then that old man

9 *[2]ucu [1]kheppa [4]hen=Ø [1]wan=Ø [2]hu-si [2]ʈi-pa [2]ʈim*
that old.man big=ABS clothes=ABS wash-SEQ sit-NOMZ COP.EXPER
that old man was washing clothes

10 *[2]ose-ma=m [2]ucu [1]kheppa [4]hen=se [1]ŋa=ta*
then-DUR=CTOP that old.man big=ERG I=DAT
then that old man to me

11 *[2]eː=Ø=mi [2]tai [1]ti [2]namsyo [1]kuŋke!*
you=ABS=CTOP what nowadays tiger!
"what a tiger you are nowadays!

12 *[1]kuŋke=Ø [3]so-si [4]pra-pa [2]ʈim [1]ro ta*
tiger=ABS make-SEQ walk-NOMZ COP.EXPER REP PART
they say [you]'re walking around like a tiger

13 *e jaʈha [1]kuŋke=Ø [3]so-si [4]pra-pa [2]ʈim [1]ro ta*
ah [Nepali curse] tiger=ABS make-SEQ walk-NOMZ COP.EXPER REP PART
ah [curse] they say [you]'re walking around like a tiger

14 *[2]eː=Ø [1]kuŋke [2]eː=Ø [1]kuŋke [3]hinla?*
you=ABS tiger you=ABS tiger COPE.NPST
are you, are you a tiger?"

15 *[2]paŋsi [2]paŋ-ci [1]ŋa=ta*
COMP say-PFV I=DAT
[he] said to me

16 *[1]ŋa=ta [3]pom=Ø [1]yu-ci [3]cama [2]ŋyan=se*
I=DAT anger=ABS come.down-PFV then time=ABL
after that I got angry

17 *[1]ŋa=ta [3]pom=Ø [1]yu-ci*
I=DAT anger=ABS come.down-PFV
I got angry

18 *[2]tai=Ø [2]paŋ-o [2]tai=Ø [2]paŋ-o [2]tai=Ø [2]paŋ-o [1]ta-ci*
what=ABS say-HORT what=ABS say-HORT what=ABS say-HORT happen-PFV
[I] felt "what should I say? what should I say? what should I say?"

19 *²ose-ma* *¹ŋye* *²paŋ-ci*
then-DUR I.ERG say-PFV
then I said

20 *²tai* *¹tam = Ø* *¹ta-ci?*
what thing = ABS happen-PFV
"what happened?

21 *²tai = Ø* *¹ta-cim?* *²paŋ-ci* *¹ŋye*
what = ABS happen-PFV say-PFV I.ERG
what happened?" I said

22 *²ose-ma* *¹kheppa* *⁴hen = se*
then-DUR old.man big = ERG
then the old man

23 *²eː = Ø* *¹ti* *²namsyo* *¹kuŋke = Ø* *³so-si* *⁴pra-pa* *⁴ʈim*
you = ABS these days tiger = ABS make-SEQ walk-NOMZ COP.EXPER
¹ro *ta*
REP PART
"nowadays they say you're walking around like a tiger

24 *²eː* *¹ti* *²namsyo* *siŋkare* *¹kuŋke = ⁴ca = Ø = no* *⁴toː-mi* *¹ro* *ta*
you = ABS these.days lion tiger = CTOP = ABS = FOC turn-MIR REP PART
they say you have become a lion-tiger nowadays

25 *siŋkare* *¹kuŋke = ⁴ca = Ø = no* *⁴toː-mi* *¹ro* *ta* *²eː = Ø* *²namsa = i*
lion tiger = CTOP = ABS = FOC turn-MIR REP PART you = ABS village = LOC
they say you have become a lion-tiger in the village"

26 *²paŋsi* *²paŋ-ci* *oi*
COMP say-PFV haha
[he] said haha

27 *²ose-ma = m* *siŋkare* *¹kuŋke = ⁴ca = no* *⁴toː-cim* *²eː = Ø* *²paŋsi*
then-DUR = TOP lion tiger = CTOP = FOC turn-EXPER you = ABS COMP
then that "you have become a lion-tiger"

28 *¹ŋa = Ø* *²tai = ki* *¹kuŋke?*
I = ABS what = GEN tiger?
"what kind of tiger am I?

29 *[1]ŋa = Ø* *[3]mi* *[3]a-[1]mraŋ-ni* *[2]a = se?*
I = ABS person NEG-see-PFV you = ERG
didn't you see I am a person?

30 *[1]ŋa = Ø* *[3]mi* *[3]ahinnam?* *[2]paŋsi* *[1]ŋye* *[2]paŋ-ci*
I = ABS person NEG.COPE.PRED COMP I.ERG say-PFV
am I not a person?" I said

31 *[2]ose-ma = m* *[2]ucu* *[1]kheppa = se* *[3]mi = [4]ca = Ø = m* *[3]hinla*
then-DUR = TOP that old.man = ERG person = CTOP = ABS = TOP COPE.NPST
then that old man "yes you are a person

32 *[3]pileno* *[2]eː = Ø* *[1]ti* *[2]namsyo* *[1]kuŋke = Ø* *[3]so-pa* *[2]ʈim* *[1]ro*
but you these.days tiger = ABS make-NOMZ COP.EXPER REP
but they say nowadays you are behaving like a tiger

33 *[2]eː = Ø* *[1]kuŋke = Ø* *[3]so-si* *[4]pra-pa* *[2]ʈim* *[1]ro*
you = ABS tiger = ABS make-SEQ walk-NOMZ COP.EXPER REP
they say you're walking round like a tiger

34 *[2]namsa = i* *[1]kuŋke = Ø* *[3]so-si* *[2]kor-pa* *[2]ʈim* *[1]ro*
village = LOC tiger = ABS make-SEQ wander-NOMZ COP.EXPER REP
[you]'re roaming round the village like a tiger

35 *[2]paŋsi* *[1]ŋa = ta* *[2]paŋ-ci*
COMP I = DAT say-PFV
[he] said to me

36 *[1]ŋa = ta* *[2]paŋ-ma* *[2]ŋyan = se = m*
I = DAT say-DUR time = ABL = TOP
after [he] said that to me

37 *[3]hinla* *[1]ŋa = Ø* *[1]kuŋke = no* *[3]hinla*
COPE.NPST I = ABS tiger = FOC COPE.NPST
"yes it's true I am a tiger!

38 *[2]a = se* *[2]ane* *[2]tai = Ø* *sos* *[1]ti-pa*
you = ERG you.PL.ERG what = ABS think-NOMZ
what do you, you lot think?

39 *[1]ŋa=Ø [1]kuŋke [4]man-l=[1]e=no [1]ʈhik-ano [1]mula [2]ane*
I=ABS tiger think-FUT=only=FOC okay-EMP COPA.NPST you.PL.ERG
even if you think I'm a tiger then I don't care

40 *[2]ane [1]kuŋke [4]man-l=[1]e=no [1]ʈhik-ano [1]mula*
you.PL.ERG tiger think-FUT=only=FOC okay-EMP COPA.NPST
if you think [I]'m a tiger I don't care

41 *tara [1]ŋa=ta [2]uraŋpa [1]tam=Ø [2]tha-[2]paŋ-o [3]mem-na=se*
but I=DAT like.that word=ABS PROH-say-HORT grandfather.PL=ERG
but, grandfathers, don't talk to me like that

42 *[1]ŋa=ta [1]cyaka [1]cyuku [3]cat-cyappa=ta [3]raŋ [1]tam=Ø [2]tha-[2]paŋ-o*
I=DAT stupid small-COLL=DAT like word=ABS PROH-say-HORT
don't say stupid things to me like you say to children"

43 *[1]ŋa=ta [3]pom=Ø [1]yu-pa=teŋ=no [3]tepeno*
I=DAT anger=ABS come.down-NOMZ=COM=FOC then
then as I got angry

44 *[1]ŋye [1]ŋa=ta ulʈo [1]ta-pa [1]mula*
I.ERG I=DAT strange happen-NOMZ COPA.NPST
[1]ŋa=ta ulʈo sulʈo [1]tam=Ø [2]tha-[2]paŋ-o [2]paŋ-ci
I=DAT strange word=ABS PROH-say-HORT say-PFV
I said "I feel strange, don't say out of order things to me"

45 *[2]ose-ma=m [2]ucu [1]kheppa=se ulʈo sulʈo [1]tam=Ø [3]ahin*
then-DUR=TOP that old.man=ERG strange word=ABS NEG.COPE.NPST
then that old man "it's not out of order

46 *[2]an-cya=se piʈai=Ø [1]ca-nam [1]ro*
you-COLL=ERG beating=ABS eat-PRED REP
they say you lot will get a beating

47 *piʈai=Ø [1]ca-nam [1]ro [2]ose-ma=m*
beating=ABS eat=PRED REP then-DUR=TOP
they say [you]'ll get a beating" then

48 *piʈai=Ø* *[3]pi-pa=[4]ca=m* *[2]khal=ki* *[1]ca-pa*
beating=ABS say-NOMZ=CTOP=TOP who=GEN eat-NOMZ
[3]a-[1]ca-pa=[4]ca=m
NEG-eat-NOMZ=CTOP=TOP
talking about beating, who will [we] get a beating from?

49 *[2]ucu=Ø* *[3]pi-pa* *[2]tha:* *[1]are* *[2]khal=ta=no*
that=ABS say-NOMZ knowledge NEG.COPA.NPST who=DAT=FOC
no one knows that

50 *sayad* *[1]ca-pa=no* *[1]kham-pa* *[3]a-[1]ca-pa=no* *[1]kham-pa*
perhaps eat-NOMZ=FOC be.able-NOMZ NEG-eat-NOMZ=FOC be.able-NOMZ
maybe [we] will get a beating maybe not

51 *[3]pileno* *[1]ŋye* *[2]uraŋle* *piʈai=Ø* *[1]ca-pa*
but I.ERG like.that beating=ABS eat-NOMZ
lain *piʈai=Ø* *[1]ca-pa* *[3]pileno* *[2]uraŋle*
line beating=ABS eat-NOMZ but like.that
but I will take a beating like that in a line, but

52 *[2]ŋyin=ta* *[2]uraŋle* *[1]cyaka* *[1]cyuku* *[1]tam=Ø* *[2]tha-[2]paŋ-o* *[2]paŋci*
we.EXCL=DAT like.that stupid word=ABS PROH-say-HORT say-PFV
don't say stupid things things like that to us" [I] said

53 *[2]ose-ma* *piʈai=Ø* *[1]pin-ta=[4]ca* *[2]khal=[4]ca=Ø* *[1]mula*
then-DUR beating=ABS give-NOMZ=CTOP who=CTOP=ABS COPA.NPST
[1]le *ya* *[2]paŋ-o* *[1]le*
go.on PART say-HORT please
then "who is it that will beat [us]? go on tell me then

54 *piʈai=Ø* *[2]khale* *[1]pin-la?* *[2]khale* *piʈai=Ø* *[1]pin-la* *[2]ŋyin=ta*
beating=ABS who.ERG give-FUT? who.ERG beating=ABS give-FUT we.EXCL=DAT
who will beat [us]? who will beat us

55 *[2]ut=Ø* *[3]pi-ci* *[3]pi-yem?* *[2]paŋsi* *[1]ŋye* *[2]paŋ-ci*
that=ABS say-PFV say-COND COMP I.ERG say-PFV
in that case?" I said

56 *[1]mriŋkola-cya=ki piʈai=Ø [1]ca-la [1]ro [1]mriŋkola-cya=ki piʈai=Ø*
girl-COLL=GEN beating=ABS eat-FUT REP girl-COLL=GEN beating=ABS
[you]'ll get a beating from the girls they say, a beating from the girls"

57 *ehoi [2]tai [2]ŋyet-ta o*
haha what laugh-NOMZ oh
haha how we laughed

58 *[1]mriŋkola=se [2]tai=Ø [1]la-pa=ta [3]koʈ [1]tisi [2]ŋyin=ta?*
girl=ERG what=ABS do-NOMZ=DAT beat-SEQ we.EXCL=PAT?
"what will the girls beat us for?

59 *[2]tai=Ø [1]la-pa=ta [3]koʈ [1]tisi*
what=ABS do-NOMZ=DAT beat-SEQ
why will they beat us?

60 *[2]ŋyine [2]tai=Ø [1]la-cim? [2]paŋ-ci*
we.EXCL.ERG what=ABS do-EXPER? say-PFV
what have we done?" [I] said

61 *[3]hinla kaile [4]ki:ma [1]tam=Ø eta uto [1]tam=Ø [2]paŋ-pa=i*
COPE.NPST sometimes word=ABS this.way.that.way word=ABS say-NOMZ=LOC
[3]koʈ [1]ti-pa [2]ŋyin=ta
beat-NOMZ we.EXCL=PAT
"yes, sometimes talking like that they beat us"

62 *[2]ŋyin=ta [3]koʈ ti-yem [1]le ya [3]taŋke=no [3]koʈ [1]ti-u*
we.EXCL=PAT beat-COND go.on PART now=FOC beat-HORT
"if they're going to beat us come on then beat us now"

63 *[2]paŋ-ci [1]ano [3]taŋke=no [3]koʈ [1]ti-u*
say-PFV EMP beat=FOC beat-HORT
[I] said "beat us now

64 *himat=Ø [1]muci [3]pi-yem [1]le [1]le [2]paŋsi*
courage COPA.PFV say-COND go.on go.on COMP
[3]cama [2]ŋyan=se [2]paŋ-ci
then time=ABL say-PFV
if [they] have courage then come on" [I] said

65 *[2]ose-ma=m [1]kheppa [4]hen=se [2]paŋ-ci ki*
then-DUR=TOP old.man big=ERG say-PFV COMP
then the old man said

66 *[2]an-cya=Ø phai phurti=Ø lai [1]ti-sima=no*
you.PL-COLL=ABS rowdiness=ABS take-SEQ.DUR=FOC
"even though you've been rowdy

67 *phai phurti=se=no [3]mi=Ø [3]a-[1]ta-pa [2]ka*
rowdiness=ABL=FOC person=ABS NEG-happen-NOMZ PART
people don't do well by being rowdy

68 *[2]ana=Ø phai phurti=Ø lai [1]ti-sima=no*
you.PL=ABS rowdiness=ABS take-SEQ.DUR=FOC
even though you've been rowdy

69 *[3]mi=Ø [1]tor [3]a-[1]ta-pa [2]ka [2]paŋ-ci oi*
person=ABS above NEG-happen-NOMZ PART say-PFV haha
people don't progress by doing that" [he] said haha

70 *e [2]ŋyine [2]tai=Ø phai phurti=Ø lai [1]ti-ci [2]paŋ-ci [1]ŋye [2]ose-ma*
hey we.EXCL.ERG what=ABS rowdiness=ABS take-PFV say-PFV I.ERG then-DUR
"hey what rowdy have we done" I said, then

71 *phai phurti=Ø lai [1]ti-pa=no [1]are*
rowdiness=ABS take-NOMZ=FOC NEG.COPA.NPST
"[we] haven't done that

72 *[3]ahin [2]ane [2]uraŋpa phai phurti=Ø lai [1]tisi*
NEG.COPE.NPST you.PL.ERG like.that rowdiness=ABS take-SEQ
[4]prapa=Ø [1]mraŋ-ci [3]pi-yem
walk-NOMZ=ABS see-PFV say-COND
no, if you have seen [us] walking and being rowdy

73 *[2]ŋyin=ta soco siddha [1]tam=Ø [2]paŋ-o imandari [1]tam=Ø [2]paŋ-o*
we.EXCL=DAT simple straight word=ABS say-HORT honest word=ABS say-HORT
tell us straight, speak honestly

74 *[1]cyaka [1]cyuku [1]tam=Ø [2]tha-[2]paŋ-o*
stupid word=ABS PROH-say-HORT
don't say stupid things

75 *ahkir* *[2]namsa* *[4]ki:=ki* *[3]mi=no* *[3]hinla*
finally village one=GEN person=FOC COPE.NPST
after all we are from the same village

76 *[3]mem-na=se=no* *tara* *[2]namsa=ki* *[3]mi=ta* *[2]paŋ-si*
grandpa-PL=ERG=FOC but village=GEN person=DAT say-SEQ
[2]uraŋle *[2]ane=no*
like.this you.PL.ERG=FOC
but you, grandfathers, have spoken like that to people from the same village

77 *[2]namsa=i* *[2]kor-pa* *[3]pela=i* *[4]tor=no*
village=LOC wander-NOMZ time=LOC around=FOC
when [we] were walking round the village

78 *[2]ŋyin=ta* *[2]uraŋle* *[1]tam=Ø* *[2]tha-[2]tha:-ko* *[2]ŋyin=ta*
we.EXCL=DAT like.that word=ABS PROH-cut-HORT we.EXCL=DAT
esto usto *[2]tha-[2]paŋ-o*
like.this.like.that PROH-say-HORT
don't speak badly of us like that, don't say this and that

79 *ki* *[2]ani* *[2]namsa=i* *[4]ki: [4]ni* *[2]cinto* *[2]namsa=i*
or you.PL.GEN village=LOC one.two this.way village=LOC
[2]kor *[1]la-ma* *[3]a-[1]te:-pa* *[2]ŋyina=Ø* *[2]paŋsi* *[2]paŋ-ci*
wander do-DUR NEG-be.okay-NOMZ we.EXCL=ABS COMP say-PFV
or isn't it okay for one or two of us to walk around over here in your village?" I said

80 *[2]ose=m* *[2]kor* *[1]la=[4]ca=m* *[1]te:-pa* *[2]paŋsi*
then=TOP wander do=CTOP=TOP be.okay-NOMZ COMP
[2]ucu *[1]kheppa=se* *[2]paŋ-ci*
that old.man=ERG say-PFV
then that old man said "it's okay to walk around

81 *[2]kor* *[1]la-ma* *[1]te:-pa* *[3]pileno* *[2]an-cya=Ø* *hos-[1]le* *[4]pra-o* *hey*
wander do-DUR be.okay-NOMZ but you.PL-COLL=Ø care-ADV walk-HORT hey
it's okay to walk around but walk carefully okay

82 *hos-[1]le* *[4]pra-o* *hey* *[1]ro*
care-ADV walk-HORT hey REP
they say walk carefully okay"

83 *hos-[1]le hos [2]paŋ-pa oi*
care-ADV care say-NOMZ haha
carefully, he says haha

84 *[2]ose-ma=m [3]cama [2]ŋyan=se [1]ŋa=ta [3]cama [2]ŋyan=se [1]ŋa=ta*
then-DUR=TOP then time=ABL I=DAT then time=ABL I=DAT
[3]pom=Ø [1]yu-ci
anger=ABS come.down-PFV
then after that I got angry

85 *[1]ŋa=ta [3]pom=Ø [1]yu-pa [2]ŋyan=se [1]ŋye [1]tam=Ø [3]a-[2]paŋ-ni*
I=DAT anger=ABS come.down-NOMZ time=ABL I.ERG word=ABS NEG-say-PFV
[2]ose-ma=m [2]cek
then-DUR=TOP a.bit
after I got angry I didn't say anything

86 *[2]ucu [1]kheppa-cyappa=[4]ca=se [2]utni [1]sem=[4]ca=i*
that old.man-COLL=CTOP=ERG they.PL.GEN heart=CTOP=LOC
those old men, in their hearts

87 *[2]namsa=i keʈi=Ø [1]cya:-si [4]pra-pa*
village=LOC girl=ABS look-SEQ walk-NOMZ
"they walk around looking at girls

88 *[1]mriŋkola=Ø [1]cya:-si [4]pra-pa [1]chame=Ø [1]cya:-si [4]pra-pa*
girl=ABS look-SEQ walk-NOMZ girl=ABS look-SEQ walk-NOMZ
they walk around looking at women and girls"

89 *[4]man-pakila [1]mumi [2]utna-cya=se khas*
think-PERF COPA.MIR they.PL-COLL=ERG especially
they thought that [of us], basically

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